THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

PREFACE.

DURING the winter months necessarily spent in England the officers of the Survey are engaged upon the office work connected with the great map of Palestine. For this purpose a room has been engaged in London. The materials brought home by Lieutenants Conder and Kitchener are of far greater importance than was expected. They consist of an addition to the map-work of 1,600 square miles, chiefly lying in the territory of Judah and Philistia. About 180 square miles of Lower Galilee are accomplished. There remain only some 1,400 square miles to complete the map of Western Palestine from Dan to Beersheba. We may therefore look forward with some confidence to the speedy completion of this part of our work. The reconnaissance of the Negeb, or South Country, with the examination of the ruined cities of that district, and a few disputed sites, will follow.

About 20 miles of levelling between the Mediterranean and the Sea of Galilee have been concluded. It was for this object that the British Association made, in 1874, a grant of £100. A very large number of names have been collected in the low hills of the Shephelah, the proportion previously unknown being nearly nine-tenths. The number of special plans is now 83. Among the new ones are surveys of Ascalon, Arsuf, and Beisan, to the scale of a foot to the mile, and one of Masada, showing the positions of the Roman camp and the wall of circumvallation. Among the most interesting late ruins of Palestine are those of the churches. We have now

special plans of thirty of these. Notes on the architectural features of these have appeared from time to time in Lieutenant Conder's reports. The Crusading castles, also of interest from an architectural point of view, have been planned. A very large number of masons' marks have been collected.

Lieutenant Kitchener's photographs are about to be published. A selected list will be found in another page. Among them are many views never before taken, and of the highest Biblical interest, such as the Valley of Elah, the Valley of Sorek, two views of M. Clermont-Ganneau's proposed site of Adullam, the site of Jonathan's attack on the camp of the Philistines, and others. The descriptive letterpress of these photographs will be written by Lieutenant Kitchener himself.

The notes accumulated during the year's work have been far more voluminous than our published reports would seem to show. These reports, indeed, are but a very small part of the whole, which can only be published when the work is completed, and when the descriptions can be accompanied by plans, sketches, and illustrations. Among the notes are some obtained from one of the last surviving monks of Carmel, on the Carmel convents. The identifications newly proposed are now over one hundred. Some of these have been combated, but the Committee, while putting them forward as Lieutenant Conder's conclusions, would ask the readers of the *Quarterly Statement*, if they cannot accept them, to refrain from comment until they can be tested by the safest method of proof, a comparison with the map itself.

The preparations for the return of the party will commence almost immediately, and it is hoped they will again be afield at the commencement of early spring.

With regard to the attack on the Survey Party we have little to report except what will be found in the next page. The claim made by the Consul for payment of expenses incurred is still under consideration.

The plan for diocesan representatives will, it is hoped, lead to a general increase of interest among Church of England people. The Committee are most anxious to let it be known that they are not departing from the undenominational character which the Society

has always preserved. Any suggestions for a similar use of Nonconformist organisations will be gratefully received and considered.

The income of the Fund during the year 1875 has shown a gratifying increase. We ask for continued and *early* support during 1876, the tenth year of our existence.

NOTES.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications by officers of the Fund, the Committee beg it to be distinctly understood that they leave such proposals to be discussed on their own merits, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee do not sanction or adopt them.

Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year at their *earliest convenience* and without waiting for application. It is best to cross all cheques to Coutts and Co., and if so crossed they may be left payable to bearer.

The Committee are always grateful for the return of old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which are advertised as out of print.

The amount received at the central office between September 30th and December 28th was £1003 8s. 8d. The balance of current accounts at the latter date was £184 12s. 8d.

Ladies desirous of joining the Ladies' Associations are requested to communicate with Mrs. Finn, The Elms, Brook Green, London, W.

Cases for binding the *Quarterly Statements* are now ready, and can be had on application to Messrs. R. Bentley and Son, 8, New Burlington Street, or to the office of the Fund. They are in green or brown cloth, with the stamp of the Society, uniform in appearance with "Our Work in Palestine," price one shilling. They can be obtained for any year by subscribers who have procured their sets.

DIOCESAN REPRESENTATIVES.

The Committee have resolved upon obtaining, if possible, a representative and lecturer for every Diocese in England, who will be prepared to give lectures or to preach in behalf of the Fund, and to act generally as organising secretaries within the limits assigned to them. These appointments are by no means intended as a departure from the neutral ground on which the Society rests; but solely as a help to Church of England supporters to the Fund, and, as stated elsewhere, the Committee will be very glad to use the organisation of the Nonconformist bodies in any practicable way which may be suggested.

The following gentlemen have already kindly offered their services :—

PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.

Diocese of Exeter : Rev. Franklin Bellamy, St. Mary's Vicarage, Devonport.

Gloucester and Bristol : E. H. Stanley, Esq., 80, City Road, Bristol.

Archdeaconry of Hereford : Rev. J. S. Stooke-Vaughan, Wellington Heath Vicarage, Ledbury.

Archdeaconry of Salop : Rev. A. F. Forbes, Badger Rectory.

,, Lichfield : ,, ,,

London : Rev. Henry Geary, 26B, North Audley Street.

Norwich : Rev. F. C. Long, Stowupland, Stowmarket.

Essex : Rev. W. H. A. Emna, Great Blakenham Rectory.

Peterborough : Rev. A. F. Foster, Farndish Rectory, Wellingborough.

Worcester : Rev. F. W. Holland, Evesham (Member of General and Executive Committee, and one of the Hon. Secretaries to the Fund).

Archdeaconry of Surrey : Rev. R. J. Griffiths, 10, Trafalgar Road, Old Kent Road, S.E.

PROVINCE OF YORK.

York : Rev. J. De Courcy Baldwin, Training College, York.

Archdeaconry of Craven : Rev. J. C. Henley, Kirkby Malham Vicarage.

It is hoped to fill up this list before the next *Quarterly Statement*.

Suggestions and offers of help from Scotland and Ireland will be most gratefully received.

LADIES' ASSOCIATIONS.

Drawing-room meetings have been held in various places during the last three months. Mr. and Mrs. F. Braby, of Sydenham, gathered a number of their friends together on the evening of Nov. 10, to hear from Mrs. Finn an account of the work. Photographs and water-colour drawings were used to illustrate the subject, and a Ladies' Association for Sydenham was at once formed.

In Edinburgh and Glasgow a series of drawing-room meetings has been held. One on Nov. 12, at the house of the Misses Stevenson, where about 130 were present and listened to the sketch of our work given in about an hour and a half with the help of photographs and drawings, and of a model specially prepared of Mount Moriah and the Temple Enclosure in accordance with the

survey and discoveries of Major Wilson and Captain Warren. Here, and at the succeeding meetings in other houses, contributions were made to the Fund. The Rev. Mr. White (successor to Dr. Candlish), spoke at this meeting.

The next meeting was held on November 15th at the house of the Dean and the Hon. Mrs. Montgomery. The Dean opened the proceedings; among the visitors was the Bishop of Edinburgh.

On November 17th a meeting was held at the house of the Rev. V. G. and Mrs. Faithfull, and on the next day, the 18th, at the house of the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Main. Mr. W. Dickson, who had himself been in Jerusalem, followed up the account of the exploration, giving the results of his own experience and travels in the Holy Land. The Rev. Mr. Main also spoke, and pointed out in a few forcible sentences the immense value, as shown by these recent discoveries, of the apparently "dry lists of names" contained in the Bible, but which now give us invaluable evidence as to the accuracy of Holy Writ. Mr. Sheriff Campbell added his testimony as to the value, in a legal point of view, of evidence of this nature. Dr. Moir also spoke.

On Saturday, Nov. 20, a meeting was held at Lord and Lady Teignmouth's, and the proceedings were opened by Lord Teignmouth. After Mrs. Finn had described the Exploration work, the Bishop of Edinburgh summed up, drawing attention to the wonderful and unexpected results of the work done in laying bare the mighty works of old, beneath the vast accumulation of rubbish and *débris* in Jerusalem, and well described the accounts of the explorers as being as interesting as a romance in their wonderful details.

The last meeting in Edinburgh was at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Caird, and was presided over by the Rev. F. Horatius Bonar, who opened the proceedings, and spoke with the keenest interest as having himself visited the Holy City, and having followed the reports of the work done and doing there as one who has been on the spot cannot help doing. Mr. W. Dickson spoke here, also, and earnestly commended the work to those present as one which it was a national disgrace to leave incomplete.

The result of these meetings was the formation of an influential Ladies' Association, and a considerable sum was contributed in money. Our warm thanks are due to the ladies and gentlemen above mentioned, and to the Bishop of Edinburgh, for the hearty support which has been given to this effort on behalf of our work.

At Glasgow the meetings were arranged by the local secretaries, the Rev. Donald Macleod, Rev. Prof. Dickson, and Mr. McGrigor, with the active and most kind co-operation of their lady friends. Mrs. Macleod had the first meeting in her own drawing-room on Nov. 23; the next was held at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Collins. The Rev. D. Macleod made a long and interesting speech, kindly here and elsewhere assisting in the proceedings, which, on account of the absence of Mrs. Finn through illness, were conducted by her daughter. Meetings were held at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Alston (Nov. 26), Mr. and Mrs. McGrigor (Nov. 27), Sir James and Miss Watson (Nov. 29). A large meeting of ladies was addressed on Dec. 2, and on the evening of the same day Mrs. Archibald Watson assembled a large party of her friends, among whom was Lieut. Van de Velde, to whose early survey of Palestine, in 1852, we owe the fullest map of the country hitherto published. Here in Glasgow, as in Edinburgh, the ladies have formed an association with the intention of doing all in their power to assist in raising the funds needed for a vigorous prosecution of the work begun by the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Mrs. Finn (The Elms, Brook Green, W.) will gladly give assistance to any ladies who may be disposed to follow the examples given above, by interesting their friends in our work, and helping us to bring it to a successful conclusion.

NEW PHOTOGRAPHS.

Lieutenant Kitchener has brought home with him a small collection of photographs, which have been added to the list of those already published. A selection of twelve will be issued immediately with descriptive letterpress by Lieutenant Kitchener himself (price one guinea). The others will follow. They can be procured of the agent, Mr. Edward Stanford, 56, Charing Cross. The following is a list of the selected twelve :—

1. The Valley of Sorek (1 Sam. vi. 12).
2. The Valley of Michmash (Judges xx. 31, and Isaiah x. 28).
3. Mount Moriah.
4. The Mosque El Aksa.
5. Elisha's Fountain (2 Kings ii. 22).
6. Bethlehem.
7. Interior of the Dome of the Rock.
8. The Baptism in Jordan.
9. Cana in Galilee.
10. Bethany.
11. The Way of the Cross.
12. The Holy Sepulchre.

THE TRIAL AT ACRE.

In compliance with instructions received from Sir Henry Elliot, H. B. M. Ambassador at Constantinople, Mr. Noel Temple Moore, Consul at Jerusalem, proceeded to Safed on the 31st August to represent the English interests in the trial of the persons accused of participation in the attack on Lieutenant Conder and his party.

On arrival at Safed he found that the trial was awaiting his presence at Acre, whither the accused persons had been removed.

At Acre Mr. Moore found that his Turkish colleague was Colonel Rushdi Bey, chief of the police force of the Villayet of Syria. It was arranged with the Governor of Acre that the trial should be held before a special commission consisting of Colonel Rushdi Bey, Mr. Moore, the Cadi, and a Mohammedan and a Christian member of the local Medjliss.

The proceedings commenced on Saturday, the 11th of September, in an apartment of the Serai specially allotted for the purpose. Lieutenants Conder and Kitchener personally attended the greater part of the sittings. Great difficulty was experienced at the outset in discovering who were the delinquents. By dint of cross-examination thirteen were inculpated.

The trial closed on Tuesday, the 28th September. At the subsequent meeting of the Commission a paper was produced embodying the views of the Medjliss (for the remaining members had now been added to the original three) as to the punishments to be inflicted, of which the Turkish delegate appeared to have no previous knowledge. Of the sixteen individuals convicted, eight were condemned to two months', six to three months', and two to one year's imprisonment, and £112 10s. was awarded as damages. The eight men sentenced to two months' incarceration were natives of Safed, who were punished chiefly for withholding evidence as to the names of the men who commenced and took an active part in the attack. The other eight were all Algerines settled at Safed. Ali Agha Allan (a connection of the Emir Abd el Kader), who was the primary cause of the fray, and five others, namely, Hadj Arab, Mohammed et Tahir, Ali Zeyyan, and Mohammed Rosa, were condemned to three months, while the remaining two, namely, Kahloush, and the negro Massoud, were sentenced to one year's imprisonment, because they were seen immediately after the attack with weapons in their hands, one carrying a gun and a sword, and the other pistols and a club.

On the reading of the paper strong remonstrances were made as to the inadequacy of the punishments, and on these representations the sum

of £37 10s. was added to the fine, being the value of certain things stolen from the tents; a month was added to the smaller periods of imprisonment, and six months to the sentence on Kahloush and Massoud. Mr. Moore's Turkish colleague concurred with him as to the shortness of the periods of imprisonment, but differed as to the amount of damages. The latter has now been fixed at a sum which we hope will be acceded to by the Superior Court of Damascus.

It is also intended to make efforts to enforce the due execution of the sentences upon the guilty persons. The satisfactory result of the trial is due in a great measure to the vigour and promptitude of Mr. Noel Temple Moore.

NOTE BY CAPTAIN WARREN.

Sept. 30th, 1875.

I WISH to correct a few misapprehensions into which Lieut. Conder has fallen in recent communications.

Quarterly, 3rd July, 1875, p. 166. *Makkedah.* The identification of El Moghar as Makkedah was made by me, and published in *Quarterly* of 1871, p. 91, and in "Our Work in Palestine," p. 217.

Idem, p. 134, *Masada.* The "Serpent's Path" was scaled by the Rev. Dr. Barclay and myself in 1867, and I have no doubt is still accessible, though rather a difficult path during the hot season.

Quarterly, October, 1874, p. 244. I examined the summit of Kurn Surtabeh in 1867, and found there the citadel of a town, a good plan of which was then in existence, published by Herr Zschokke. C. W.

NOTE ON M. GANNEAU'S PAPER, "THE ARABS IN PALESTINE."

A CORRESPONDENT sends us the following:—In the remarkable paper on "The Arabs in Palestine" that appeared in your last number, it is stated by M. Clermont-Ganneau, at p. 208, that the fellaheen of Modern Palestine are apparently the descendants of the ancient Canaanite nations. It will be very interesting to ascertain whether this is the case. If it is, it throws light on several passages in Scripture that have perplexed me for some years, I mean those which speak of these ancient tribes as existing in the last days, and being then destroyed by the vengeance of God. I subjoin a list of these passages. It will be found that all of them point more or less distinctly to this fact. Numbers xxiv. 17-24; Isaiah xi. 10-14; xxv. 10; xxxiv. 5, 6; lxiii. 1-6; Jeremiah xlviii., xlix.; Ezekiel xxv., xxxv.; Daniel xi. 41-43; Joel iii. 15; Amos i. 6; ii. 5; ix. 12; Obadiah 17-21. To the above may perhaps be added—Psalm lx. 8; lxxxiii. 6-8, and possibly other passages.

DISCOVERY AT JERUSALEM.

JERUSALEM, *Oct.* 21, 1875.

IN the piece of ground west of the north road leading from Damascus Gate, about 150 yards from the gate, some interesting tombs have been recently discovered. The proprietor was digging a cistern, and about fifteen feet below the surface came upon rock which sounded hollow when struck. He broke through this and found beneath it some sepulchral chambers. In the structure of the tombs there is nothing very unusual, but in one of the chambers is a large stone chest which, when discovered, contained human bones. It is cut from a single stone, measures 7 ft. 7 in. in length, 2 ft. 8 in. in breadth, and 3 ft. 2 in. in height. It stands upon four feet, and has its rim cut to receive a lid. Some broken pieces of what is believed to have been the lid were found near. The rock roof of the chamber has been cut away in order to admit this chest, which is evidently of far later date than the tombs, which appear to be very ancient. Its use is not very clear. It is not an ordinary sarcophagus, and is much too large for a body. The most probable supposition that suggests itself is that it formed a cover for the protection of the wooden or leaden coffin of some distinguished person which has long since been rifled and removed. Near, perhaps over, this spot once stood the church dedicated to St. Stephen. Is it possible that in this chest we have the last resting-place of Eudocia? I send you an excellent plan and sections of the tombs made by M. Schick.

THOMAS CHAPLIN.

THE PARIS GEOGRAPHICAL EXHIBITION.

THE following correspondence has been received on the map work sent to the Paris Geographical Exhibition:—

1. Lieut.-Col. T. Montgomerie, R.E., to the Chairman of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Sept. 30th, 1875.

To the Chairman of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that the Paris Geographical Congress intends to send you a Letter of Distinction in recognition of the services of the Palestine Exploration Fund. This letter will be forwarded to you in due course, as you will see by the enclosed.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
T. MONTGOMERIE, Lt.-Col. R.E.,
H.M.'s. Commissioner, Paris Geographical Congress.

2. THE Commissary-General, International Congress of Geographical Science, to the Commissioner for Great Britain.

Paris, le 16 Septembre, 1875.

Monsieur le Commissaire,

J'ai l'honneur de vous informer que le Jury International des récompenses du Congrès International des Sciences Géographiques a décerné une récompense de l'ordre le plus élevé au "Palestine Exploration Fund."

Aussitôt que les rapports du Jury me seront parvenus, je m'empresserai de vous adresser cette Lettre de Distinction.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Commissaire, l'assurance de ma haute considération,

Le Commissaire Général,
BARON REILLE.

South Kensington Museum, 23rd Dec., 1875.

SIR,—I am directed by the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education to acquaint you that their Lordships have received through Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with a request that it might be forwarded to its proper destination, the accompanying testimonial, or letter of distinction, awarded to the Palestine Exploration Fund by the International Geographical Congress which was held this year at Paris.

It is stated in the despatch received from Lord Lyons that letters of this description are the highest testimonials awarded by the Congress to exhibitors.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
NORMAN MACLEOD.

The President, Palestine Exploration Fund,
9, Pall Mall East, S.W.

Société de Geographie.
Congrès International des Sciences Géographiques.
Deuxième Session, tenue à Paris.
1875.
Lettre de Distinction.

Paris, le 11 Aôut, 1875.

7e Groupe.

Monsieur le Président,—L'Exposition du PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND a paru au Jury International mériter une récompense exceptionelle.

Les cartes, plans, reliefs, photographies, etc^a., de la Terre Sainte, envoyés par cette association scientifique au Congrès de Paris présentent une telle importance géographique que les distinctions prévues par le réglement ne pouvaient leur être appliquées.

J'ai l'honneur, au nom du Congrès de porter à votre connaissance cette haute appreciation du Jury et de vous delivrer pour le PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND la présente Lettre de Distinction comme la récompense de l'ordre le plus élevé décernée à l'occasion de l'Exposition.

Veuillez agréer, M. le Président, l'assurance de ma haute considération.

Le Vice-Amiral,
President du Congrès,
Et de la Société de Géographie, Paris,
DE LA RONCIERÉ-LE-NOURY.

À Monsieur le Président du PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

EARLY CHRISTIAN TOPOGRAPHY IN PALESTINE.

THE study of the topography of Palestine in periods subsequent to Biblical times is not merely a matter of antiquarian curiosity, it is intimately connected with the more important study of the topography of the Bible. We possess valuable works, like the Onomasticon of Eusebius and Jerome, the ancient Itineraries, and the mediæval travels, Christian and Jewish, containing hints and observations, the importance of which depends on the trustworthy character of the work in which any of them appear. To estimate fairly how far we may rely on these supplementary authorities we must consider the later topography as a whole, and thence deduce the amount of confidence to be placed in any particular statement bearing on Biblical questions.

I have in former reports touched upon mediæval and Crusading sites, such as the *Tower of Eder*, the two *Ascalons*, &c., but a few remarks on the earlier topography of Byzantine Palestine and of the Onomasticon may perhaps be of value.

Of the thirty-three episcopal towns of the Palestina Prima of the fifth-century division of the Holy Land (a district almost exactly answering to the Roman Judæa and Samaria taken together), six only remained unknown in the time of Reland, who has carefully arranged the whole number in alphabetical order. These six are—*Apathus*, between Jericho and Sebaste; *Diocletianopolis*, south of Jerusalem; *Minois*, near Gaza; and *Sozusa Toxus*. Minois alone is immediately recognisable as being the present ruin of El Minieh, on the north bank of Wady Refah, the supposed River of Egypt.

I.

Diocletianopolis was a town of some little importance as an episcopal see, and the bishops appear as early as the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D. Reland, however, gives no indication of its position, and the identification depends on a passage in an Italian work called "Siria Sacra," of which I discovered a copy in the library of the Carmel Convent, dating 1695 A.D. Here we find that Diocletianopolis was on the

road from Jerusalem to Hebron, and "come nota il Baudran" was originally called Bethsaca. Athanasius, mentioned in the papers of the Synod of Jerusalem, was one of its bishops under the Patriarch Peter.

Now we find from Reland that the southern town of Bezek, probably the βεξεκη of Ant. v. 1, was on the same road from Hebron to Jerusalem, and two miles from Bethzur. It was of this town that Adonibezek was lord (Judges i. 4), whose thumbs and great toes were cut off by the men of Judah after a great battle against the Perizzites and Canaanites in Bezek. Reland, with his usual critical acumen, proposes the identity of this site with the Bezeth of the book of Maccabees; a measurement on the map leads to the same conclusion, for the large ruin of Beit Z'ata, which I have proposed to identify with Bezeth, lies about two miles north of Beit Sur, the ancient Bethzur. It is interesting to observe the existence of those niched vaults which Dr. Tobler, in confirmation of my suggestion on the subject when writing about Beit Jibrin, informs us were originally [Roman] columbaria; they are not common in Palestine, and occur only in parts where other indications of Roman work exist. Here, therefore, as at Beisan, Lydda, Amwas, and in other places, the Hebrew or Aramaic name has outlived the more pretentious title conferred by the conquerors, and the Diocletianopolis of the early Christians, the Bezeth of the Maccabees, and the Bezek of the Old Testament, may, it would seem, be identified, with tolerable certainty, with the important ruins surrounding the modern village of Kúfin.

II.

Of *Sozuza* I have spoken in former reports. It seems clear that the site of the town lay between Cæsarea Maritima and Sebaste. It is variously written Soscuris and Sorucis, whence the transition to Serúr, which I proposed last year, is easy. Deir Serúr, the town discovered by us between Sebaste and Cæsarea, shows signs of having been a large and important place in early Christian times.

III.

Bethar, another site mentioned in the Itineraries, is of great importance as serving to fix the position of Antipatris. It is called *Bethar* both in the Antonine and in the Jerusalem or Bordeau Pilgrim's Itinerary; its distance from Cæsarea is variously given as sixteen and eighteen Roman miles, and that from Antipatris was ten Roman miles. It appears to me to agree well with the present village of Tireh on the road from Ras el 'Ain to Cæsarea, which is nearly nineteen Roman miles from the last noted, and about nine from Ras el 'Ain, making twenty-eight in all. This completes the list of distances round Antipatris, which stand as below, affording pretty satisfactory evidence of identity of Ras el 'Ain with Antipatris:—

Lydda to Antipatris	12	Roman miles ; to Ras el Ain				$11\frac{1}{2}$	Roman miles.
Tireh	,,	10	,,	,,	,,	9	,,
Cæsarea	,,	28	,,	,,	,,	28	,,
Galgula (Galgilieh)		6	,,	,,	,,	6	,,
Jaffa (150 stadia)		19	,, (?)	,,	,,	13	,,

The distance, 150 stadia, given by Josephus, agrees with no proposed site for Antipatris, but if we read $\rho\iota = 110$ for $\rho\nu = 150$, a change easily made, we get $13\frac{3}{4}$ Roman miles, which is quite near enough.

IV.

The Onomasticon. In his valuable introductory chapter Reland sums up carefully the merits and defects of this great work as far as his information allowed him to criticise it. The merits he enumerates are five, the defects five, as below :—

Merits.
1. Certainty of correct reading where Greek and Latin agree.
2. The annotations and corrections of Jerome.
3. The additional information given by Jerome.
4. Mutual corrections in errors of orthography, names, &c.
5. Passages omitted by Jerome recoverable in the Greek text.

Defects.
1. The principal places whence measurements are made are not defined as to relative position.
2. The four quarters of the compass alone are noticed, minor divisions being disregarded.
3. Relative positions of ten important places are not given.
4. The descriptions are sometimes vague.
5. Irrelevant matter is inserted.

To this list I would propose to add another merit and another defect:—

Merit. 6. The minute acquaintance shown by Jerome with the out-of-the-way parts as well as with the more frequented in Palestine.

Defect. 6. The impossible identifications of Scriptural sites occasionally occurring dependent on a similarity of name alone.

The real value of the Onomasticon and other topographical notices by Eusebius and Jerome, seems to me to consist in the accurate knowledge of the country shown by the authors. That the distances should when the text is uncorrupted, be correct, is not a matter of astonishment when we remember that the principal Roman roads, to which alone they refer, were marked with milestones, which remain in numbers to the present day.

As regards the identification of ancient sites, the only advantage possessed by these authors was in the more perfect preservation of the nomenclature in their time as compared with the nineteenth century, but it seems plain that they were far more hasty than modern students of Mr. Grove's school would be in fixing upon a site of similar name without reference to other requisites.

I may add a few examples which seem to bear out these views, and

to show that the value of the Onomasticon lies in its facts and not in its deductions:—

(1st.) As regards knowledge of the country. *Anab*, a town of Judah, is identified by Eusebius with Betoannaba, four miles east of Lydda. Jerome, however, adds a note that many supposed it to be Beth-annabam, eight miles in the same direction. Now in a direction south-east of Lydda we find at the present day, at the distance of five Roman miles, the village of Annabeh on a road which leads five miles farther to Beit Nuba. In these I think we can hardly fail to recognise the Betoannaba and Bethannabam of Jerome.

Under this very head we have, on the other hand, a remarkable instance of misidentification; neither of the sites is within the territory of Judah, and the town of Anab lay in the region of the Negeb or Daroma, where we fixed it as west of Debir (Dháheriyeh), some thirty miles from the place where it is fixed by the Onomasticon.

Other instances occur as follows:—Three Gilgals are noticed in the Bible, and occur in the modern nomenclature; with all of these Jerome was acquainted, and he describes them all accurately. Salem, near to Œnon, is placed south of Beisan, but Jerome fails not to notice another Salem eighteen miles from the same centre, but situate in the great plain of Esdraelon. The distance agrees exactly with the village of Salim, near Ta'anik. Jerome even notices that the native place of Nahum the Elkoshite was pointed out to him in Galilee, near Jordan —no doubt the present Elkasyun, near the Huleh lake, giving us an idea of the extent of the more out-of-the-way parts of Palestine visited by this great author in his wanderings.

(2nd.) The instances of incorrect identification are very numerous. Thus, Betam, or Bethemin, which lay four miles from the Terebinth of Mamre, is evidently the modern Beit 'Ainún at about that distance from Ramét el 'Amleh, where the terebinth was in the fourth century supposed to have stood. Yet Eusebius would identify it with Ain, a city of Simeon lying in the Beersheba desert. Bareca and the Valley of Blessings are now identified with the ruin of Breikút and Wady Arrub. (I may observe in passing that W. el Arrub is probably the Arruboth of 1 Kings v. 10, in which case the Socoh mentioned with it would be Shiukh, a town close to Wady el Arrub on the south.) Jerome makes Kefr Barucha to be identical with the modern Beni Naim. He further mentions a Bareca as near Ashdod, probably the modern Burka, close to Esdúd.

V.

A few more obscure sites mentioned by the Onomasticon may be very easily identified. Thus, Kaphar Zachariah, near which existed the House of the Terebinth, and where the tomb of Zachariah was found, is no doubt the modern *Kefr Zakeria*, near which is a Christian ruin called Deir el Butm—Convent of the Terebinth. Maspha, a Mizpeh lying north of Eleutheropolis, is no doubt *Khirbet el Mesherfeh* in the

same direction, the name having the same meaning as the Hebrew Mispeh. Bera, eight miles north of Eleutheropolis, is evidently the modern *Khirbet el Bireh* at about that distance. If, as M. Ganneau thinks, the Timnath of the Onomasticon is to be sought near the road from Eleutheropolis to Jerusalem, a *Khirbet Tibneh* will be found to exist in that direction, besides the two well-known ruins of the same name which probably represent Timnah of Samson and Timnath of Joshua. To nearly all these sites, correctly described by Eusebius and Jerome, incorrect identifications or suggestions are added by those authors.

The Survey of Palestine will, I hope, show clearly that the topographical lists of Joshua are neither fragmentary nor unsystematic; that, as I have before pointed out, the towns are grouped under their royal cities, and occur in regular order. Such classification was first hinted by Mr. Grove; the new identifications by M. Ganneau observe the rule, and so agree well with those of the Survey. It seems to me, therefore, that identifications, whether ancient or modern, which disregard such conditions, and trust, as did Jerome or Eusebius, to similarity of sound alone, are but of little value, and serve rather to confuse what we have already made certain.

A place called *Chasbi* is mentioned by the Onomasticon as a deserted spot near Adullam. It seems identical with the Achzib or Chezib of Josh. xv. 44, which again appears Micah i. 14, in connection with Maresha and Adullam. It seems also likely to be the same as Cason (Κασων, LXX. Alex.), translated in authorised version "in the harvest time," which if a town was near Adullam. This forms a good check both on the identification of Adullam by M. Ganneau and on my own identification of Achzib or Chezib with Khirbet Kussa, "the ruin of the tale" taking the place of the Hebrew "town of liars," and the site being at a distance of about five miles from 'Aid el Miéh. This is an instance of the true value of notices in the Onomasticon.

Abel Meholah is a case in which the identification of the Onomasticon seems correct. It existed eight miles south of Beisan, and has therefore been placed on Murray's new map at a ruin called Shukk. It seems, however, to have escaped notice that the name still exists under the form 'Ain Helwe, in the plain east of Shukk and west of Sa'kût, the "meadow of circles" being the broad downs of the south end of the Beisan valley, but the name now transformed into "Sweet Spring."

Geba of Horsemen, a town on Carmel, is often mentioned in the Itineraries. Eusebius places it at Gabe, sixteen miles from Cæsarea. The place is of importance as defining the limit of Lower Galilee. It is evidently the modern Jeb'a, on the west slopes of Carmel, not far from 'Athlit, but this village is not to be found on Murray's new map of Palestine.

VI.

A few mediæval sites from other sources may be mentioned in the same connection. *Bethelia* was a town with a famous heathen temple

situate close to Gaza. It is no doubt the modern Beit Lehia, which lies among the olive groves north of the city, and retains its religious character by the mosque and minaret which no doubt replace the ancient temple. *Caphar Gamala* was the place to which Gamaliel, according to a venerable tradition, conveyed the bones of St. Stephen after martyrdom, and where they were afterwards miraculously discovered. It was twenty miles from Jerusalem, and may therefore be identified with Beit Jemâl, near Yermûk, an identification which I do not find noticed in the Bible Dictionary.

In a former report from Beit 'Atâb I proposed with some diffidence that the little tomb house of *Sheikh Samit*, standing prominently above the valley of Soreg, near Ser'a, might have some connection with a tradition of the tomb of Samson. I now find, in the course of my studies of mediæval writers, that as late as 1334 A.D. the tomb of Samson was shown to Isaac Chelo, in this same village, which renders the connection with Sheikh Samit highly probable.*

In the same Jewish Itinerary we find mention of *Roma* or *Rumah*, where was the cave of Caisran whence the Messias was expected to appear. I have shown in a former report that this cave is to be found at the modern ruined village of Rumeh. The tradition originates in an extraordinary Targum on Exod. xii. 42, which runs as follows: "For Moses goeth forth from the desert and King Messias from Roma." Isaac Chelo, as well as other Jewish travellers of the same date, show throughout a familiarity with the Targums and Talmud which is very valuable in some of the Galilæan sites, as I hope later to be able to show in the case of Capernaum.

VII.

The advent of the Crusaders acted as a disturbing element in the topography of Palestine. Their knowledge of the country was very imperfect, their imitation of Arab names is barbarous, and the mistakes made in sites not generally famous are numerous. The passion for localising sacred memories had reached its height in the ninth century. Thus in 700 A.D. Arculphus visited only seven or eight holy places in Jerusalem, but Bernard the wise, in 867 A.D., notices about twenty, and a few more were added in the twelfth century. A well-known instance of Crusading error exists in the identification of the modern Arsuf, a coast town north of Jaffa, with Antipatris, Asher, and even Ashdod. In the same way William of Tyre places Porphyrion, which stood, according to the ancient Itineraries, between Sidon and Beirût, at Haifa, and accordingly we find that the Bishop of Haifa, or Porphyrion, was under the metropolitan of Cæsarea. This error has a certain value because it serves to show that the town of Sycaminos is not to be placed at Haifa, but as having a bishop separate and distinct

* I see that M. Ganneau (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1875, p. 211) mentions a tradition, evidently of Christian origin, in which Sheikh Samit appears as the brother of Shamshûn el Jebbar.

from the Bishop of Porphyrion, must be considered a separate site, and placed probably (from its distance in the Antonini Itenerary) at Tell el Semak, where are remains of a considerable early Christian town, as pointed out by the late Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake and by myself in former reports.

The Crusaders, as Reland remarks, even confounded the Sea of Galilee with the Mediterranean, and placed the site of some places mentioned in the New Testament as near Tiberias on the shore of the Mediterranean. Thus they supposed a connection between the name of the town Caiapha or Caiaphas (the modern Haifa), which Benjamin of Tudela makes to have been founded by Caiaphas the high priest, and Cephas, the Greek name of Simon Peter. Hence, at Haifa the Crusading clergy showed the rock where Simon Peter fished, possibly the present Tell el Semak, or "mound of the fish." A second rock was shown at Jaffa, probably near the Church of St. Peter, with the same tradition. To this curious confusion of ideas may also perhaps be traced the existence of a Crusading Capernaum between Caipha and Cæsarea.

In a former report (*Quarterly Statement*, April, 1875, p. 90) I supposed this site, called Kefr Tauchumin by Jerome and the Talmud, and Kefr Thaucum or Capernaum by later writers, to be the present Tantura; the distances given by Benjamin of Tudela, however, serve to place the Crusading Capernaum at the modern village of *Kefr Lam*, where are remains of a mediæval fortress. This will appear from the Itinerary as below:—

Caiphas to Capernaum, 4 parasangs = 14 English miles.
,, Cæsarea 10 ,, 35 ,, } Benjamin Tudela.

The true distances are:—

Haifa to Kefr Lam, 14 English miles.
,, Cæsarea, 36 ,,

These brief notes will, I hope, be enough to show that a great amount of incidental information as to scriptural topography is to be obtained by study of the obscurer sites mentioned in Talmudic and early Christian writers. Where, however, the more famous, such as Capernaum, Gilgal, &c., are concerned, ecclesiastical tradition of the middle ages tends rather to confuse than to assist the student. C. R. C.

ROCK-CUT TOMBS.

THE question of rock-cut sepulchres being one of special interest in Palestine as connected with the great question of the Holy Sepulchre, I may perhaps be allowed a few words to supplement Dr. Tobler's notice in the last *Quarterly Statement*.

In the course of the Survey I have examined some 400 or 500 tombs, and have obtained about 100 plans, endeavouring always to get some indication of the date of the structure.

The four species mentioned by Dr. Tobler may be divided into two groups: 1st, those with *kokim;* 2nd, those with side loculi. He does not mention the other varieties common in Palestine, viz., 1st, graves not in rock chambers; 2nd, rock-*sunk* graves with two loculi.

Of each of these four divisions there are specimens serving roughly to fix the date.

1st Group. *Kokim tombs.*—These have been variously described as tombs with the "perpendicular," "pigeon-hole," "oven," "deep," "sunk," or "long" loculus, to all of which titles Dr. Tobler objects, proposing the very simple expedient of securing uniformity of description by returning to the original Jewish title, which I intend in future to adopt. Such tombs are carefully described in the Talmud, and the dimensions there given tally with the average size of chamber and graves of this class.

There seems to me evidence in Palestine itself of these tombs being Jewish work. In many cases the *kokim* exist in one chamber, with loculi differently arranged in another, but in every case, as far as my experience goes, it is the *outer*, or more ancient chamber, which has the *kokim*, whilst the loculi exist in the inner or more recently excavated.

The scanty inscriptions in Hebrew which I have found on tombs have all belonged to tombs with *kokim*, and I have never seen a Christian or a Greek inscription on such a tomb. The seven-branched candlestick we have also found only on tombs with *kokim*.

Another indication of antiquity may be found in the osteophagi to be discovered often in these chambers. They bear, as described by M. Ganneau, Hebrew inscriptions which he dates at about the first century A.D. The first of these inscriptions were communicated to the Fund in August, 1873, by Dr. Chaplin. As the osteophagi are not sufficiently large for an entire body, yet contain the bones of adults, it seems evident, as he then remarked, that they can only have been used after the body had decayed and the skeleton fallen to pieces. If, then, they were used to preserve piously the bones of former occupants of the *kokim*, when it was desired to place other bodies in these receptacles, it seems to argue a great antiquity for the *kokim*.

That further accommodation was often so obtained without the labour of rock excavation, we see clearly at Beisan, where sarcophagi of full size have been ranged parallel with the side loculi of the chamber.

2nd. Group. *Side loculi tombs.*—Under this head I would include the three varieties mentioned by Dr. Tobler as *shelf* graves, *trough* graves, and *sunk* graves.

The disposition is in either case the same. An arched recess, generally 6 to 7 feet long, and 2½ feet wide, and 5 to 6 feet high, is cut at the back and on either side of the chamber. The loculus consists either of

a grave sunk in this recess, or more generally there is a rock wall reaching 2 to 3 feet up in front, and thus forming a deep sarcophagus covered with flat slabs. If the recess is not on the level of the chamber floor we have the shelf loculus. In either case the body lay with its side (not with its feet) to the wall of the chamber. Thus the title *side loculus* applies to all. There seems no distinction of date between the three kinds, but rather one of labour, the better tombs containing the trough loculus, which required more labour, though more than one kind may be found in the same tomb.

In some cases more than one loculus exists under one arch or arcosolium. A sort of transition style may be recognised where two loculi exist with a space between under one arcosolium, but endwise to the outer chamber like *kokim*.

These tombs appear later than the *kokim* tombs. I measured a great number of valuable examples with Greek inscriptions (some known) at Suk Wady Barada (ancient Abila). In Palestine itself I found an example with a Greek graphita at Sheikh Bureik. The inner or more recent chambers of the *kokim* tombs have often side loculi. At Shefa 'Amr, a seat of the early Rabbis, I visited such a tomb highly decorated with Christian emblems and a Greek inscription. Unless we suppose that other nations buried their dead with the Jews, we must conclude this to be a later Jewish style of tomb. This fact may be cited in favour of the authenticity of the traditional Holy Sepulchre.

3rd Group. *Graves without chambers.*—The Romans in Palestine seem to have used columbaria or sarcophagi, but a few examples occur, as near Seffurieh, of sarcophagi sunk in the rock, and covered with the usual lid. Another kind of grave, which is indeed the arcosolium cut in the face of a cliff instead of within a chamber, occurs in cemeteries of the second group. The columbaria exist in well-known Roman sites, such as that of Diocletianopolis, which I hope to show clearly is to be found at the modern village of Kufin, an interesting identification, and, as I think, quite new.

4th Group. *Rock-sunk tombs.*—By this term I have invariably described a kind of sepulcre not mentioned by Dr. Tobler, and scarcely known to exist near Jerusalem. One example occurs on Olivet, and others were planned by M. Ganneau in the Kerm es Sheikh. It consists of a trough some 6½ feet long, 3 feet wide, and from 4 to 5 feet deep, sunk in the flat surface of the rock, and covered by a great block 7 feet long; on either long side of the trough exists a recess or arcosolium, with a grave sunk in its floor. Thus the tomb held two bodies, and no more, placed side by side, with the trough between.

According to native tradition these tombs are Christian. A large cemetery of such exists in connection with a mediæval tower at Iksal, and is known as the Frank cemetery. The tombs are supposed to have held man and wife.

Several of this class of tombs give instances of Greek Christian inscriptions, as that found by M. Ganneau at Kh. Zakeriyeh. In the one on Olivet were found two leaden coffins with crosses upon them.

None of these systems of burial seem to have had any reference to orientation, and are hence not used by the Moslems.

A few specimens of structural sepulchres on the first or second system exist in Palestine.

Thus arranged and dated, we find the method of sepulture used by each succeeding race, Jew, Heathen, or Christian, in Palestine.

The Crusaders seem to have been buried as in Europe, thus we may confine group No. 4 to the Byzantine period, when a great deal of rock excavation was executed.

A careful paper, should I have time to draw it up, with plans of the important specimens collected by us, and professional opinion on the architectural details, would, I hope, in our present state of information, go far to settle the question of date, which would render the sepulchres thus classified of extreme value to antiquarians. C. R. C.

KALAMON..

In his paper on the Jerusalem Itinerary, published in the "Bulletin de la Société de Géographie" for July, 1875, M. Ganneau calls attention to the omission of the name Kalámun upon our map of Carmel as well as upon those of M. Guerin and Vandevelde, whilst it is to be found on the maps of Robinson, Ritter, and Jacotin. The explanation is simple, and, as in many other cases in Palestine, I have little doubt that the place has two names, the second of which is suggested by M. Ganneau, and actually appears on our map.

Ritter places Kalamón north-east of El Keniseh. Kalamón is mentioned by Isaac Chelo (1334 A.D.) as an important ruin near the sea, between Sycaminos and Cæsarea. The French army, in returning from Acca, passed through a place of the same name, and in the Notitia of the Roman knights it is mentioned as the quarters of one cohort and of certain native mounted archers. There is, therefore, little doubt as to its whereabouts, and M. Ganneau concludes thus: "Par induction la position de Kalamoun tomberait d'après ce raisonnement un peu au nord du point marqué oW dans la carte du Lieutenant Conder en face de Ferch Iskander." This position agrees with that given on Murray's new map.

I find, on inspecting the specimen map of Carmel, published in the Palestine Exploration Fund *Quarterly* for January, 1875, that the "point marked oW" in question is a well. M. Ganneau appears to have mistaken the small circle which in large surveys generally marks a well for the letter o; W. of course stands for well. A little to the north-east is a ruin of some importance occupying the position of the Kulmon of the new Murray; it is called by us Khirbet Kefr el Samír, and contains rock-cut tombs. On reference to the ruin list I find it to consist

of heaps of stones, and that a lintel with a cross cut on it was observed—an indication, as we suppose, of the place having been inhabited by the early Christians before the time of the Crusades.

M. Ganneau himself suggests the identity of Kalamon and the Castra of the Talmud (קסטרא). This site is mentioned by the Gemara as situate in Galilee near Khiphah, apparently the modern Haifa, and it is noted as one of the places inhabited by the Minim or pagans. "The Jews dwell in Khiphah, but the Minim in Castra" (cf. Reland, s. v.). This mention of its inhabitants makes it almost certain that the Castra of the Talmud is the Castra Samaritorum noticed by Antony of Piacenza as near Sycaminos, and beneath the monastery of the prophet Elijah. One other step alone is required in the identification, and I think it will hardly be denied that Kefr el Samír (village of the Samír) is the corruption of Castra Samaritorum (camp of the Samaritans), for the simple reason that the monastery in question is none other than the Dayr at Ain Siah, a spring known to the Carmelite monks as the Fountain of Elijah.

It is not to be supposed that Antony of Piacenza refers to the convent at present existing, which dates only from 1825 A.D., or to its predecessor on the same spot founded in 1631.

The convent of St. Brocardus was founded in 1209 at the Fountain of Elijah. In 1238 the monks were all massacred and thrown into a large reservoir still existing beneath the fountain, whence the valley over which the ruins of the convent stand is known as the Valley of Martyrs. A curious legend of the petrification of certain fruits by the prophet attaches to the place. The owner of the garden existing in Elijah's time (and still flourishing) refused to give the prophet any of its fruit, and said his ground produced only stones. "Stones be they," was the angry reply, and the petrified plums and melons are still visible, though a heretical geologist might give them the harder appellation of geodes. This site is mentioned by Mr. Drake (*Quarterly Statement*, April, 1873, p. 15), and we possess detailed notes as to the remains of the convent. It will be found to be placed on the map half a mile north of Kefr el Samír, and is considerably higher up the side of the hill. The two serve to verify one another, and may plainly be identified with the Castra Samaritorum and convent of Elijah mentioned by Antony of Piacenza.

It seems, therefore, that we have recovered the more important of the two names by which this site was known at different periods. Whether the other title, Calamon, still exists in the memory of the peasantry it will be easy to find on revisiting the spot; meanwhile it is satisfactory to be able to show that an important ruin has not been omitted in the survey work.

C. R. C.

THE SYNAGOGUE OF UMM EL AMUD.

August 15th, 1875.

THE only synagogue of the interesting group in Galilee first explored by Major Wilson which the survey party have as yet examined is that of the ruin of Umm el 'Amud on a hill east of the Buttauf plain. I have not found this mentioned in any of the early travels in Palestine which serve to identify and date many of the other synagogues, and, indeed, the name of the site is lost, being replaced by the modern title, meaning "Mother of the Column."

The synagogue is much ruined, and a part has been removed to build a sort of small keep or fortress south of it, near the Roman road. There are, however, traces of four rows of columns, and the plan seems to have been identical with that of others, namely, five walks, three doors to the south, and a double column (as described and sketched in Major Wilson's paper, *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1869), at the north end of the two outer rows of pillars. Of these outer double columns the greater part of that on the north-west corner is here standing *in situ*; the other has fallen and lies near to its original position. The bases of the two most southern columns, flanking the middle walk, are also *in situ*. Thus we have the means of ascertaining both the length and the width of the synagogue. The measurements thus obtained give a striking indication of the standard used, which seems to me to be clearly the medium cubit mentioned by the Talmudical writers, which was used in the measurements of buildings, and which from actual measurement of the unit (the barley-corn), of which it contained 144, has been fixed by some writers at 16 inches.

Measurements taken.	Feet.	Cubits.
Length of colonnade 53ft., approximately .	(53′ 4″)	equals 40 cub.
Breadth of two walks 26ft., do. - .	(26′ 8″)	,, 20 ,,
Base of a column measures	2′ 4″	,, $1\frac{3}{4}$,,
Upper diameter do.	1′ 8″	,, $1\frac{1}{4}$,,
Total height of pillar (abacus to base incl.).	13′ 4″	,, 10 ,,
Height of pedestal and stylobate	1′ 4″	,, 1 ,,
Capital of attached pilaster.....	8″	,, $0\frac{1}{2}$,,
Lintel main door, length.....	8′ 4″	,, 7 ,,
Do. do. height.....	2′ 4″	,, $1\frac{3}{4}$,,

The decayed state of the ruin prevented the two main measures from being taken within a few inches, but they are near enough when taken with the exacter measures of the details.

The outer wall of the synagogue has disappeared beneath rubbish, but the entire plan of the building can perhaps be recovered by comparison with more perfect specimens. Thus in the width we have five walks ten cubits broad, giving fifty cubits interior measurement.

The length of the colonnade is 40 cubits, which with 6 columns

$1\frac{3}{4}$ cubits base gives an intercolumniation of 5·9 cubits, or about 7′ 10″, being very nearly the same as that of the synagogue of Arbela, which is exactly 6 cubits = 8 feet. Adding 6 cubits on either end of the building (in imitation of the plan of the Tell Hum synagogue), we obtain a total interior length of 52 cubits, being 4 cubits short of the length of the great synagogues of Tell Hum and Kerazeh.

The capitals of the pillars are of a very simple character. Attached pilasters seem to have been built against the walls either in or outside. A stylobate of simple moulding, identical with that of the pedestals on which the pillars stood and sixteen inches high, ran round the building.

In the little keep I found, besides pillar-shafts of dimensions identical with those of the synagogue, three lintels which probably belonged to the three southern doors of the synagogue. The longest, 8′ 4″ by 2′ 4″, represents two lions flanking a base, which may perhaps represent the pot of manna (see Photograph No. 73, old series). They are boldly though roughly cut; the stone is broken in two. The other two have sunk centres with a surrounding conventional border of a very effective twisted pattern.

It would be very interesting to know the date of this building, but of this we have no positive evidence.

It is known that Rabbi Simeon bar Iochái built twenty-four synagogues at his own expense. Among these were the synagogues of *Kefr Birim*, *El Jish*, and *Meirún* (where he is buried), visited by Major Wilson, also one at *Etham*, of which we have, I believe, found the site, with two others as yet unknown at *Tiria* and *S'asa*. This famous doctor and builder, called "the great light," and also "the spark of Moses," is said to have been the author of the cabalistic book Zohar. He lived about 120 A.D.

The six synagogues enumerated above date, therefore, from the very commencement of the second century. It is extremely probable that the synagogue of Umm el 'Amed may be attributed to the same date and the same builder.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

THE STONE OF FOUNDATION AND THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE.

[*The substance of this paper has already appeared in the* ATHENÆUM.]

I.

THE question whether the "stone of foundation" was a portion of the solid rock or a movable stone is one of considerable interest in connection with the topography of the temple. If the former, it will be easy to fix with all but absolute certainty its position, and from it as a starting-point, to lay down the sites of the temple, altar, and courts, with no

more uncertainty than the uncertain value of the cubit renders inevitable.

The use of the word אבן would imply that it was a movable stone, but its (supposed) history, as given by the Rabbis, quite removes it from the category of ordinary stones and represents it as the centre* or nucleus from which the world was founded. "It is taught that from it the world was founded, which is the same as to say from Zion the world was created. The doctrine of the Bareitha is that Rabbi Eliezer said the world was created from its middle, as is said, 'when the dust groweth into hardness and the clods cleave fast together' (Job xxxviii. 28). Rabbi Joshua said the world was created from the sides. . . . Rabbi Izaak (Niphka) said the Holy One, blessed be He, threw a stone into the sea, and from it the world was created" (Yoma, 54*b*). Rashi explains: "Zion was first created, and around it the clods were compacted together until the world was completed on every side." The teaching of the Talmudic doctors therefore indicates clearly that the *aven sheteyah* was rock, and not a detached stone, and also affords an explanation of the use of the word אבן in connection with it. Originally, according to their ideas, it was a stone, but when from it the world was created, either by a process of accretion from without, as R. Joshua held, or by a kind of growth from within, as taught by R. Eliezer, it was no longer a stone, though still retaining the name, but the foundation of the world, the holiest spot on earth,† "Zion the perfection of beauty," the place where the ark of the covenant was deposited, and where alone the "visible majesty of the divine presence" manifested itself.‡

The notion that it was a movable stone appears to have arisen in later times, and to rest upon no better authority than that of the Toldoth Yesu—a work containing so many silly and blasphemous stories that its statements can hardly be regarded as worthy of serious consideration. Moreover, the testimony of this book is by no means of a definite character, for whilst, according to Buxtorf (Lex. Talm. 2541), it represents the stone as identical with that which the patriarch Jacob anointed at Bethel, the edition of Wagenseil gives quite a different account of its

* In subsequent times the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was made the site of this as well as of some other traditions stolen from Mount Moriah.

† The Rabbis have, indeed, a quibble that the chamber over the Holy of Holies was holier than the most holy place itself, because it was entered only once in seven years, whereas the Holy of Holies was entered every year (Pesach. 86*a*).

‡ The expression "from the time of the former prophets" (Samuel, David, and Solomon) appears intended to indicate that in the time of the second temple there was no doubt about the site of the Holy of Holies in Solomon's building. Tosefta Yoma (ch. ii.) expressly notes that the ark had been placed upon the stone of foundation. About the extent of the holiness of the most holy place towards the east in the second temple there was a doubt (Yoma 51*b*, and R. Obadiah on Midd. iv. 7).

origin—namely, that King David, when digging the foundation (of the temple), found it "over the mouth of the abyss" with the name engraved upon it, and that he brought it up and placed it in the Holy of Holies.

On the whole, then, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion than that the *aven sheteyah* was a portion of rock projecting three finger-breadths upwards from the floor of the Holy of Holies, covering a cavity which was regarded as the mouth of the abyss, reverenced as the centre and foundation of the world, and having the ineffable name of God inscribed upon it.*

II.

The statements made in the Talmud, and repeated over and over again with great accuracy by rabbinic writers, supply us with the following data—viz.:

1. The stone of foundation (in other words, the solid rock) was the highest point within the mountain of the house, projecting slightly above the floor of the Holy of Holies.

2. There was a gradual descent from it by means of several flights of stairs to the floor of the mountain of the house opposite the eastern gate, the difference of the level of these two points being twenty-two cubits (and three finger-breadths).

3. A line produced from it through the centre of the house towards the Mount of Olives would intersect the top of that mount.

4. From it the rock sloped downwards on the western, northern, and southern sides, as well as on the eastern, a "solid and closed foundation" six cubits high being made all round the house in order to raise the floor to (within three finger-breadths of) its summit. On the eastern side this solid foundation was covered by the steps leading down to the court, but whether these steps extended along the whole breadth of the house is uncertain.

5. Although the difference in level of the floor of the mountain of the house at the eastern gate, and the floor of the temple was (as above stated) twenty-two cubits, the rise of the ground outside the courts, from east to west, was such that the floor of the temple was only twelve cubits above it at the southern and (perhaps) northern gates of the upper court.

The summit of the Sakhrah under the great dome of the rock is the only spot in the whole enclosure which answers to these data, and it will not be difficult to show that it answers to them in a very remarkable degree.

The Holy House, with its courts, was not in the centre of the enclosure,

* It is impossible not to suspect in these Jewish traditions the origin of the sacredness which the Mohammedans have attached to the Sakhrah. The "stone," which was the foundation of the world, might afford a fitting resting-place for the Prophet on his mysterious journey, and the "great abyss" may well have suggested the awful legends which still cling to the "well of souls."

but was nearer to its western boundary than to its northern, nearer to its northern than to its eastern, and nearer to its eastern than to its southern; in other words, the largest free space was on the south, the next on the east, the next on the north, and the smallest on the west. In the Tosifoth Yom Tov and Middoth, the following measurements are given—viz.:

Northern space	115 cubits.
Breadth of court (north to south)	135 ,,
Southern space	250 ,,
	500
Western space	100 cubits.
Length of court (west to east)	187 ,,
Eastern space	213 ,,
	500

What authority the author may have had for this statement I know not, but taking it as a useful hypothesis from which to work, and reckoning the cubit at twenty inches,* we find (1) that if the centre of the Sakhrah be regarded as the centre of the Holy of Holies, the northern boundary of the mountain of the house would come to within a few feet of the northern limit of the present platform, where is the scarped rock discovered by Captain Warren; (2) that the northern boundary would come to within a few feet of the entrance of El Aksa, a point near which other considerations would lead to the supposition that the mountain of the house terminated; (3) that the western boundary would fall a few feet west of the foot of the present western ascent to the platform; and (4) that the eastern boundary would fall within a few feet of the present eastern wall.

The difficulty presented by the large space left on the west between the present boundary wall and the boundary of the ancient enclosure, as here supposed, may be met by remembering the probability that there were houses (treasuries, dwelling-houses, &c.) on the western side, and that these may have occupied the space.

As to the levels. Within 153† feet east of the centre of the Sakhrah the rock should descend 10 feet; 93 feet farther east, where the court of

* The choice of 20 inches is of course purely arbitrary. In building their tabernacles the Jews still make use of the hand-breadth, closing the hand and doubling in the thumb. Such a hand-breadth, as I have ascertained by repeated measurements, is seldom less than 3½ inches, giving a cubit of 21 inches. Sometimes the point of the thumb is made to project upwards and included in the hand-breadth, which of course makes the latter much larger, and brings the cubit to 26 or 27 inches. It may be hoped that it is still within the bounds of possibility that the ancient standards preserved in Shushan Habbireh (at the eastern gate) may be recovered.

† I here follow Rabbi Obadiah in taking the distance between the altar and the lowest of the steps leading up to the porch to be three cubits (cf. Midd. iii. 6, and the Commentaries).

the women began, there should be another descent of 16 feet 8 inches; and 225 feet still farther east another of 10 feet. Altogether the ground should be 36 feet 8 inches lower than the top of the Sakhrah at a distance of 513 feet towards the east.

Within 58 feet of the centre of the Sakhrah on the north and on the south the rock should descend 10 feet (to the level of the upper court), and 54 feet farther on the south, and perhaps on the north, other 10 feet (to the level of the mountain of the house at that part).

Captain Warren's valuable sketch-map of the levels of the Haram Area which faces page 159 of "Our Work in Palestine," shows that if the Sakhrah be thus taken as representing the Holy of Holies nearly all these levels will fall in without straining.

On the north there is some reason to suppose that the descent from the court was not so rapid as on the southern side. The house Moked, which was there, is understood by the rabbinic writers to have been built on the ground, and the northern half of it was certainly outside of the court, so that we need not be surprised to find that the rock makes its farther descent at a greater distance from the Sakhrah on the north than on the south, which the map shows to be the case. The descent into the court of the women is a greater difficulty, because the drop of the rock appears to be too far east, but it will be evident that these distances and measurements cannot be regarded as absolutely exact. The doubt about the cubit prevents it. Also the uncertainty as to whether the stairs leading up to the court projected into the court or outwards towards the mountain of the house. Those between the court of Israel and the court of the women are generally supposed to have projected outwards towards the latter, but the slope must have commenced farther west, because there were chambers under the court of Israel opening into the court of the women. The steps leading up to the court of the women from the east are believed to have been outside that court in the chel. Possibly some of these steps may have been cut in the rock itself. Another element of uncertainty is *the possibility of the top of the Sakhrah having been cut away since the temple was destroyed*,* also the question to what extent the space eastward of the courts was filled up artificially. A not unimportant topic of inquiry is whether there were steps leading up to or from the eastern gate of the mountain of the house, or whether that gate was on a level with the ground outside and inside, questions to which I have not been able to find a satisfactory answer in the Jewish writings. Rashi, indeed (in Berachoth 54*a*), speaks of the eastern gate being "outside of the mountain of the house in the low wall which was at the foot of the house," but it is not certain from this that he understood steps to lead up to the higher level,

* This is in fact a very probable supposition. Possibly the Mohammedans may have shaped it to suit their purposes, and made the gutter upon it to carry off the blood of their sacrifices.

nor is his opinion on such a subject decisive. Maimonides intimates that from the eastern gate to the end of the chel was one level; apparently this was from the inner side of the gate. (Beth Habbech vi. 1.)

Relative to the summit of the Mount of Olives the position of the Sakhrah is precisely that indicated in the Talmud as the position of the Holy of Holies. I have repeatedly proved by observation that a person standing on the top of the mount (near the minaret) may look straight through the little dome (judgment-seat of David) and the door of the dome of the rock towards the Sakhrah, and conversely, that a person placing himself at the eastern door of the latter building and looking away in a line at right angles to the door, will look straight at the top of the Mount of Olives, a few feet south of the centre of the minaret.

THOMAS CHAPLIN, M.D.

JERUSALEM, *September 24th*, 1875.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE ALTAR OF ED.

THE following letter expresses difficulties which have been felt by many with reference to Lieut. Conder's proposed identification of the Altar of Ed. The paper has been shown to Lieut. Conder, who has furnished a reply to the various points raised by Dr. Hutchinson. The substance of this is appended.

"Let us run through the narrative, and see how clearly it both implies and states that the Witness Altar stood on the *left* or *eastern* bank of Jordan; that it was erected by Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh within the borders of their own inheritance, and therefore could not possibly be identified with the western Kurn Surtabeh.

The Lord had given "unto Israel all the land which He sware to give unto their fathers; and they possessed it, and dwelt therein" (Josh. xxi. 43). And so Ephraim, in whose territory the Kurn stands, was in full possession and enjoyment of his lot, stretching from the Mediterranean right up to the west bank of the Jordan.

Mark this fact as bearing on the argument, and recollect also that Shiloh, the great rendezvous, whence Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh started for their inheritance, was also in Ephraim, and only about four and a half miles west of the Kurn.

The western tribes being in full enjoyment of their inheritance, and Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh having faithfully fulfilled their compact (Numb. xxii. 17-19; xxxi. 32), Joshua solemnly blesses and dismisses them to their trans-Jordanic inheritance, warning them significantly to "take diligent heed to do the commandment and the law which Moses, the servant of the Lord, charged" them (Josh. xxii. 5). As a result of this warning the trans-Jordanic tribes raised this Witness Altar in their own isolated inheritance for the information and instruction of their descendants. When and where was this altar raised?

"The children of Reuben, and the children of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh returned, and departed from the children of Israel out of Shiloh, which is in the land of Canaan, to go unto the country of Gilead, to the land of their possession. . . . And when they came unto the borders of Jordan, that are in the land of Canaan, the children of Reuben, and the children of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh built them an altar by Jordan, a great altar to see to. And the children of Israel heard say, Behold, the children of Reuben, and the children of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh have built an altar over against the land of Canaan, in the borders of Jordan, at the passage of the children of Israel" (Josh. xxii. 9-11).

Clearly, then, the erection of the altar was not accomplished while the two and a half tribes were on their march; separated from their homes and belongings by the length of the campaign, they would naturally hurry homewards, and it was not until they had passed over Jordan unto "the country of Gilead," Gad's inheritance, and directly opposite Shiloh, that the two and a half tribes resolved upon building the Witness Altar. That it was erected in the Gilead "borders of Jordan" is evident, because—

1. The deputation sent by the children of Israel and headed by Phinehas, was ordered over "into the land of Gilead," and *there* encountered the two and a half tribes (Josh. xxii. 13-15). It is more than probable that Phinehas opened his speech with the Witness Altar in full view; and, as it were, tangible, when he exclaims, "What trespass is this that ye have committed against the God of Israel?" (Josh. xxii. 16.) The *point* of the deputation and its address would have been lost if the disputed altar lay in foreign territory, even though that was the territory of Ephraim.

2. It is impossible to believe that the halt of the returning tribes around the Kurn, not five miles from Shiloh, and their operations on its summit, would have prompted the wording of Josh. xxii. 11, "And the children of Israel heard say." Such a proceeding in the great and quarrelsome tribe of Ephraim, hard by the sanctuary at Shiloh, could not have been a matter of *hearsay;* and if the altar took a long time to erect the work could easily have been arrested *in limine* by the heads of the tribes residing at Shiloh. Clearly the intelligence came, as if from afar, *after* the deliberate erection of the altar, and I think the *hearsay* report implies that it was not within eyesight or earshot of Shiloh, which it would have been if erected on the Kurn Surtabeh.

3. It is impossible to believe that this Witness Altar could have been erected by the trans-Jordanic tribes on territory other than their own; Ephraim would have resented the intrusion, and certainly would take no pains to keep the monument in repair; this would naturally be the care of its erectors, but could hardly be maintained in a foreign tribe, separated from them by the at all times rapid and yearly-inundated Jordan.

4. Again, the main object of the Witness Altar would have been defeated if it had been erected on the right bank of the Jordan. The two

and a half tribes clearly foresaw (what eventually happened) that the rapid and annually-flooded Jordan would slowly but surely raise a separating barrier between the eastern and western tribes. Mark their words: "If we have not rather done it for fear of *this* thing, saying, In time to come your children might speak unto our children, saying, What have ye to do with the Lord God of Israel? For the Lord hath made Jordan a border between us and you, ye children of Reuben and children of Gad; ye have no part in the Lord" (Josh. xxii. 24, 25). To obviate this, and bearing in mind the parting words of Joshua, "Take diligent heed to do the commandment and the law which Moses, the servant of the Lord, charged you" (Josh. xxii. 5), the trans-Jordanic tribes determined on erecting the Witness Altar, an exact representation in masonry of the brazen altar at Shiloh, to which they might appeal. "Behold the pattern of the altar of the Lord" (Josh. xxii. 28).

The western tribes had the original altar at Shiloh, and would not require its pattern on the Kurn, only five miles off; its presence there would not have the significance which would be conveyed by its erection on a trans-Jordanic site. It was not a witness for the *western* against the *eastern* tribes, but for the *latter* against the former, consequently they (the latter) would jealously guard their witness model, and keep it in careful repair, for upon its entirety depended their right to membership in the national theocracy. Such being the case, could they consign the Witness Altar to the precarious care of the opposite tribe? Surely not; the witness must be on their side of the Jordan, or, in the words of the narrative, "over against the land of Canaan;" it must be in their safe and jealous custody, and easily accessible to children and children's children.

5. I do not think the expression "over against the land of Canaan, in the borders of Jordan" (Josh. xxii. 11), can bear any other interpretation than of exactly fixing somewhere on the *left* bank the site of the altar; the words are apparently added to clear up the somewhat ambiguous description of the tenth verse. The site is further localised by fixing it "at the passage of the children of Israel," and here the northern extremity of that great passage must be alluded to. We are told in Josh. iii. 16, "that the waters which came down from above stood *and* rose up upon an heap very far from the city Adam, that is beside Zaretan." Now Zaretan (the modern Zerthán) is to the north, but in the name of the Damieh ford, we have probably traces of the city Adam (Lieut. Conder), so that we cannot be far from the whereabouts of the Witness Altar. Why may it not be sought in the great eastern range directly opposite the Kurn, figuring in Robinson's map as the Mountain of Gilead, and culminating in Jebel Osha?

6. I cannot understand how Lieut. Conder *can* make the expression "children of Israel" applicable to the two and a half tribes only; if so, then analogy requires the application of the term throughout this particular narrative, and so ver. 9 and others ought to read, "And the children

of Israel (*i.e.*, the two and half tribes) returned and departed from the children of Israel out of Shiloh."

7. Lieut. Conder treads on very dangerous ground when he brings in a casual local appellation to suit a name which really does not exist; the word "Ed" after altar does not exist in the generally received Hebrew text, but was supplied by our translators. The passage is literally as follows: "And the children of Reuben and the children of Gad named the altar, because that is a witness (Ed) between us that Jehovah is God" (Grove); so that Ayd has been unwarrantably treated in having his name assigned to a non-existent locality. I venture to bring forward with equal pretension a name which may assist in localising my eastern site; for to the north-west of Mount Gilead, directly opposite Zaretán, and between the Wadys Aylun and Zurka, I find (on Robinson's map) the name Abu Obeidah, the mid syllable of which, *eid* or *eyd*, is as close to Ed as Ayd is.

I stated at the outset of my paper that "a careful consideration of the Scripture narrative, without any critical disquisition, is alone sufficient to upset Lieut. Conder's theory;" let me now by way of disquisition add Josephus's crushing testimony against the western site.

"Now, when the tribe of Reuben and that of Gad, and as many of the Manassites as followed them, were *passed over the river*, they built an altar on the banks of Jordan, as a monument to posterity, and a sign of their relation to those who should inhabit *on the other side*. But when those *on the other side* heard that those who had been dismissed had built an altar . . . they were about *to pass over the river*, and to punish them for their subversion of the laws of their country. . . . Accordingly they sent as ambassadors to them Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, and ten more persons that were in esteem among the Hebrews, to learn of them what was in their mind when, *upon passing over the river*, they had built an altar upon its banks."—*Antiq. B. V.* These extracts clearly show, what I have attempted to prove, that the Witness Altar was erected *after* the passage of the river, that its site must be sought on the *eastern*, and not on the western bank of the Jordan, and that, therefore, it could not possibly be on the Kurn Surtabeh.

Brighton, June 30, 1875. R. F. Hutchinson, M.D.

Lieut. Conder replies in substance as follows:—

1. The Bible and Josephus are silent as to the keeping of the altar in repair, and as to its being in sight of Phineas during his speech on Mount Gilead.

2. The Kurn cannot be seen from Shiloh. A high range of mountains separates them, and it would be difficult to find one point whence both could be seen at once. Also, the distance between the two places is *eleven* miles, not *five*. Therefore, the Kurn is not "within earshot of Shiloh."

3. The children of Ephraim not only would have resented, but historically *did* resent, the building of the altar on their ground.

4. The object of the altar was not to preserve the memory of the brazen altar (by the Mosaic law all the men of the eastern tribes had to visit Shiloh and the brazen altar once every year); but "lest your children should say unto our children . . . the Lord hath made Jordan a barrier between us."

5. The expression "over against the land of Canaan" is explained by Gesenius to mean in *the fore part*, in *front of*. It must be borne in mind that the word *Canaan* means the "hollow country," or "low country," the Canaanites being the "Lowlanders." In Josh. xi. 3 we find "the Canaanite on the east and on the west," *i.e.*, east and west of the hills. The Arabs of the Ghor ("hollow or sunken country"), as well as in the plain of Sharon, now called the Ghawarni, thus correspond to the eastern and western Canaanites. It is therefore most probable that the Ghor is meant by the "land of Canaan" in this case, and the translation "over against" will not militate against the site proposed.

6. Lieut. Conder calls attention to the identification proposed by himself of Zaretan with Tellul Zahrah (see *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1874). No "modern Zerthán" is known as yet to exist.

7. The discovery of names which are "casual local appellations" has always been considered one of the strongest evidences which can be advanced in favour of any identification, and the more casually obtained the better.

8. The name of the altar is "Witness" in the Septuagint and in Jerome. The word Ed occurs in the Hebrew, and the meaning is clearly as in the A. V.

9. As regards the suggestion of another site, Abu Obeidah, "admitting the propriety of depriving a Bedouin proper name of two out of three syllables for the sake of an identification of the one remaining (and this, moreover, in a case where the first syllable omitted contains a guttural so strong as never to be lost or added in any known case of identification), I would ask a scholar to compare *Ed*, written *Ain, Daleth*, with my *Ayd*, written *Ain Yeh Dal*, and with Dr. Hutchinson's *Eid*, written *Yeh Dal*. It is well known to philologists that the *Ain* is never lost, though sometimes changed to *He*, in the conversion of Hebrew names into their present Arabic form. Thus, the remaining syllable in *Obeidah* lacks the most important letter of the syllable it is supposed to represent.

10. As regards the quotation from Josephus, the word used is διαβαντες, *as they were going over*, or *when they crossed*.

MEETING AT MANCHESTER.

The following report of the Meeting of December 8 *is taken from the* MANCHESTER COURIER *of December* 9. *Lieutenant Conder has himself supplied the address:—*

A meeting in connection with the Palestine Exploration Fund was held in the Town Hall of this city yesterday afternoon. The Very Rev. the Dean of MANCHESTER presided, and there was a numerous attendance of ladies and gentlemen. Lieutenant Conder, R.E., the officer in command of the Survey expedition, was present, and delivered an address.

The Rev. W. F. BIRCH, the local secretary, explained the object of the present meeting. The survey of the Holy Land had to be discontinued last summer, and it was intended to resume it again in February. He was anxious that another meeting should be held in Manchester in order, if possible, to obtain money, so that those engaged in the survey might be enabled to complete it. The people of Manchester had promised to raise £500 in support of the fund, and he was happy to be able to say that £400 of it had been received. (Applause.) He had no doubt that the other £100, and even more, would be forthcoming. (Applause.)

The DEAN said they must all feel indebted to Mr. Birch for his prompt action in this matter. If the exploration was to be resumed next February, it was quite time that the Committee in London, who were responsible for the expenses, should know what means they had at their command. As to the advisability of their attempts to raise money for such a purpose, he did not think there could be two opinions. All Christians, of course, must grant that the knowledge of the Holy Bible and everything that enabled us to understand it more clearly was of immense importance to us; but not only Christians, but those who did not profess any Christian obligation, must still be called upon to help in this matter. The object of this fund was to enable us to become better acquainted with the Bible, and he was sure we could all read it more intelligently when we had before us a trustworthy map, by means of which we should be enabled to solve difficulties. Merely upon that ground he thought it was a fair thing to appeal to the whole community to help in such a matter. (Hear, hear.) When we thought of the life of our Lord, and how our hearts bounded within us when we considered the possibility of having looked upon His countenance when He was on earth, he was sure that every person must have a desire to possess a more accurate and perfect knowledge of the Holy Land in which He lived, and where we had the record of His short life on earth; and he could not conceive that any one could object or be cold-hearted in such a movement as this. (Applause.)

Mr. H. LEE, who has visited the Holy Land, said that he acceded to the invitation of Mr. Birch to address that meeting with great pleasure. The interest he felt in the Holy Land had been greatly deepened since he had had an opportunity of going over it. He had heard of some people who had come away from Palestine disappointed, who stated that all their previous views of the country were wrong, and who had come back with the impression that the country had no interest whatever for the Christian man. But it depended very much upon the mood in which any man travelled in that country, and he (Mr. Lee)

thought that if a man went over it in a right frame of mind, he must come back with a deeper interest in it than he had before. (Hear, hear.) To those of them who were familiar with, and were constantly in the habit of reading the Word of God, such knowledge was invaluable; and as they believed that the Bible was the one great book of all others on the face of the earth, the more accurate their knowledge of the spot to which it related, the more value it would be to them. (Hear, hear.) A great deal had been done during the last few years in the investigations which have been made in the Holy Land. The researches that had been made illustrated several portions of Scripture, and upon that account alone he thought they should do all they could to forward this great work. (Hear, hear.) It was a work which would throw additional interest round the Word of God, and therefore they ought to support it. Another reason why it claimed their support was because they must have some regard to the future destiny of Palestine, and whatever might be the destiny of that country it would be a very great matter to have a good map of it while we had the opportunity of getting it. (Hear, hear.)

LIEUT. CONDER'S ADDRESS.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I hope that the subject upon which I have the pleasure of addressing you this evening will prove of sufficient interest to atone for an unpractised speaker.

The sound of the words Ordnance Survey of Palestine is rather suggestive perhaps of a dry subject, and I am afraid it is so considered by the majority of the English public. I hope, however, that I shall succeed in showing you that our work has an interest not only for the scientific and professional public, or for critical students of the Bible, but generally for all those who have ever thought of or cared for the Holy Land and the Bible history.

The Palestine Exploration Fund originated in the discovery made by certain English scholars who were engaged on Smith's great Bible Dictionary that our information as to the Holy Land was more deficient and inaccurate than had been at all suspected.

It was found that the best published maps contradicted one another; that the chances of finding any place mentioned in the Bible on such a map were more than five to one against success; that scarce a point was to be found in Jerusalem concerning the correct position of which any two authorities would agree; that the only scientific and accurate explorer of the century was an American, whose work was not by any means exhaustive. Of the manners and customs of the natives, Christian, Mahometan, Jewish, Druse, or Samaritan, scarcely anything was known. Their dress, their traditions, their very nationalities, were alike unstudied. Thus the dictionary, which was intended to illustrate with accuracy the innumerable details of local colouring which occur on every page of Old or New Testament, was obliged to seek materials in standard works on Egypt or Persia, as nothing of trustworthy information existed concerning the Holy Land itself. Scarcely any photographs of Palestine scenery had

been taken, and the pictures which endeavoured to give a realistic rendering of Biblical events are few and far between.

But yet further. One of the most important and interesting comments which at this remote period of time we can make on the Biblical narratives is that which refers to the topography of the country. Take any one of the numerous episodes of the Old Testament, the history of Gideon, of Samson, or of David, for example, you find the most minute details of time and place continually occurring. Could such details be studied on the spot, and could it be shown that there is a wonderful truthfulness of detail in each and all, it is evident that we should thus obtain a testimony to the genuine and contemporary character of the history perhaps more valuable than any other criticism now practicable. To all who wish to see the opponents of the Sacred Record met on their own ground with arguments the force of which they must allow, such a work cannot fail to be of great interest. (Applause.)

I have often been asked what results have been gained by the operations of the Fund, since no great discovery has ever been reported from Palestine. I answer that in another two or three years, when the great work of the Society comes to be published, the public will be astonished at the amount of accurate and valuable information collected in so short a time, and under so many difficulties. (Applause.)

As regards Jerusalem, my predecessor, Captain Warren, R.E., has been the first to substitute facts for theory, and to lay a solid foundation of discovery upon which scholars can work in safety in restoring the ancient city, its Temple, its walls, its towers, and its palaces. A single shaft there has in some cases settled points concerning which volumes had previously been written on either side of the question. (Applause.)

But turning to the work which I myself have for the last four years conducted for the Fund in Palestine, and which they consider the most important they have undertaken.

As I have just pointed out, there was a field of exploration open to us beyond that of mere geographical discovery, and however good a map might be, it would be insufficient in such cases. Something to a larger scale and containing more minute details is necessary for the proper study of the subject, and thus it was determined that a survey to the English Ordnance scale should be run over the whole country from Dan to Beersheba. The work has been going on steadily for four years, in spite of various hindrances from weather, from sickness, and even the death of one valued member of the party, and now though a combination of unfortunate circumstances has compelled us to suspend the actual field work for this winter, we still hope that the summer of next year will see the completion of our work to the sources of the Jordan.

Our results are, as I have said, interesting to three classes—to scientific men, to Biblical students, and to the public interested in the Holy Land and the Bible history.

As regards the scientific aspect, Palestine is to the naturalist one of the most interesting countries in the world. The summit of Hermon is 9,000 feet above sea level; the Dead Sea, at the opposite end of the

Jordan Valley, is 1,300 feet below sea level. Thus, in the short distance of 150 miles, we have a range of fauna and flora extending from that of the arctic to that of the tropical regions. The mosses of Hermon are similar to those of Norwegian mountains, and in its desolate fastnesses now remain the last descendants of David's bear, often coming down to the mountain villages to feast on grapes in the luxuriant vineyards. In the valley of Jericho, on the other hand, the date-palm flourishes with proper cultivation, the mimosas are full of delicate sun-birds, which belong to African fauna, and in the jungle of Jordan the cheetah, or hunting leopard of India, is found.

Of this varied fauna and flora we have notes and specimens, collected in our spare moments, skins of hyenas, ibex, and gazelles (one a new species, I believe), and collections of birds of every kind, &c., &c.

Again, the geology of Palestine has more interest for students than that of almost any country. The Jordan valley, an immense fissure unparalleled in the world, has never been studied throughout its whole extent. The theories of its formation have been conflicting, and scarcely any reliable facts had been collected whence to draw a satisfactory conclusion. Captain Warren was the first explorer who ever passed along the whole length of the valley. Following him we have been the first Europeans who have ever lived in it. For three months of most variable weather we were camped in this wonderful country, moving slowly northwards, and only leaving it when the Bedouin themselves could no longer endure the heat of its climate. During that time we have collected a large amount of valuable information as to its topography, its climate, its fauna, and above all its geology. As regards the origin of its formation, how it happened that this great crevice was opened, and at what period of the earth's history, I think we shall now be able to give a satisfactory explanation. Some have supposed (following the present Mahometan tradition) that the Jordan originally ran to the Red Sea, and that the present lake was formed at the time of the destruction of Sodom and Ghomorrah, forgetting, apparently, that it was by fire, not by water, these cities of the plain were overwhelmed. Others have made the formation volcanic, and some even have supposed it to be the result of ice action during the glacial period. The plain result of the observations now recorded is a complete answer to these theories.

Dr. Tristram, the well-known naturalist and explorer, from observations made on either shore, first put forward the theory which our observations have fully confirmed. (Applause.) The valley was first formed by a depression of the strata at a period subsequent to our English chalk period. The area formed was filled by a chain of great lakes, probably reaching to the sea, and resembling the great lake system at the head of the Nile. The depression continued, and is, indeed, slowly continuing at the present day, and as the climate altered, the heat and consequent evaporation increased until the great lake system had shrunk to its historical proportions, and is only represented by the present basins —the waters of Merom, the Sea of Galilee, and the Dead Sea, which has

no outlet of any kind, but is simply dependent on the evaporation for the maintenance of its level.

This explanation cannot, I think, be disputed, being based on detailed observations throughout the entire length of the valley. Faults in the strata unknown before we discovered in more than one place. The general character and dip we marked throughout, and the old shore lines of the great lakes at various periods we traced in a tolerably complete manner throughout the valley.

Turning to the critical aspect of the Survey work, few, I think, but the students who have made the topography of the Bible a special study, can be aware how little we have previously known, and, on the other hand, how much there is still capable of recovery. The very interest which has been taken in Palestine from the third century of our era to the present day appears to be the very reason why all the topography has become so frightfully confused and falsified. In the fourth century we find St. Jerome, the great author of the Latin vulgate translation of the Bible, editing the work of Eusebius, the earliest attempt at a Bible dictionary; but whilst we envy the minute acquaintance with the country which he shows throughout, the wild guesses at the relations borne by the then existing sites to those of the Bible forbid our accepting his opinion on any such identifications as authoritative.

Later on, with the advent of the Crusaders, things grew worse. The knights themselves were not famous for their acquaintance with even the best known of Bible events, and the clergy, in fixing traditional sites not previously settled by the early Christians, seem to have been actuated by many motives other than the strict regard of truth. A very curious instance of the many errors into which they fell is the fact that they made a confusion between the Sea of Galilee and the Mediterranean. Thus not only did they show near Acca the rock from which Simon Peter was said to have fished (a site which can still be identified), but yet further they gave the name of Capernaum to a neighbouring seaside town, which still retains the ruins of its Crusading fortifications.

This inaccuracy, due to the pious anxiety shown by men almost entirely ignorant of the country to localise all the Scriptural events, proves extremely puzzling to modern students. Almost every famous site has a shadow or double, the mediæval traditional site often at a considerable distance from it. One site often had to do duty for two or more Scriptural places. Thus, the fortress of Arsuf was supposed to be the site of Antipatris, of Asher, and of Ashdod, neither of which was a correct identification, as the nearest of the three places in question was five or six miles off, and the farthest more than forty.

The first explorer who endeavoured to deal with this complicated puzzle, a jumble of traditions of every age, Jew and Gentile, early and late, was the celebrated American traveller, Doctor Robinson, a man eminently fitted by his former studies and his great capacity to deal with the subject. The results of his travels form the groundwork of modern research, and showed how much could be done towards recovering the ancient topography. He found that the old nomenclature clings to

Palestine in an extraordinary manner, and that in the memory of the peasant population the true sites have been preserved, though undiscovered by the Frank invaders.

He started with a broad canon, very characteristic of his nationality, that no traditional information was of any authority. In this it appears to me he went too far. When properly distinguished as to date and origin, some of the traditions are of undoubted antiquity and value. Thus, whilst the site of the Holy Sepulchre was only discovered in the fourth century, and by a miracle, the Grotto at Bethlehem, on the other hand, is mentioned by Justin Martyr in the second century, and the tradition thus dates back to the same authority which gives the earliest testimony to the Gospels themselves. (Applause.)

The traditions, again, which group round the sacred rock in the Temple enclosure at Jerusalem, seem to have been taken by the Moslems from the Jews, and serve to point to its identity with the Stone of Foundation on which the Holy of Holies stood; an indication of the greatest value to any student wishing to restore the Temple of Herod.

This unqualified disregard of tradition raised at first great prejudice against Dr. Robinson's views, but they have come to be very generally accepted by students. It is in his steps that we have trod. With greater advantages, more time, and more money, we have been able to more than double the number of his discoveries; but the cases in which we have found him wrong are few and far between.

Within the course of our work we have recovered more than 100 lost sites, many of them of great importance. Among these we can reckon Bethabara, the site of our Lord's baptism, which we sought for over three months, collecting the names of over fifty Jordan fords, and only at the end of our survey of Jordan did we find the name still existing, some miles south of the Sea of Galilee; a position little expected, but which harmonises completely with the Scripture narrative. (Applause.)

A very interesting papyrus has lately been edited and published in England. It contains an account of the travels of an Egyptian officer of state who visited Palestine at the time when Israel was oppressed by Jabin, king of Hazor, just before the deliverance by Barak. By the aid of our discoveries, I have succeeded in disentangling the complicated topography of this narrative, not previously understood. I find that it agrees with the topography of the Books of Joshua and Judges, and that I can trace his journey in a chariot from Tyre to the Sea of Galilee, and thence to Joppa. According to my explanation, he kept in the plains throughout the whole journey until he arrived at Megiddo; he then endeavoured to go down one of the precipitous valleys into the plain of Sharon, and the story tells that here, as we should naturally expect, he entirely smashed his chariot.*

But yet further, our discoveries have not only added an immense number of ancient sites to those previously fixed, but we have been able, by the collection of nearly three out of every four places mentioned in the Bible, to prove that the long topographical lists of the Book of

* Lieut. Conder is engaged in a paper on this subject.

Joshua are neither fragmentary nor unsystematic. I have been able to show that the towns are enumerated in groups, each group a natural division of the land, and each division containing a Royal city as capital. Such a vindication of the character of these curious and hitherto little understood lists would, to my mind, be itself sufficient result to put before the public as the outcome of our labours. (Applause.)

Turning now to the third aspect of our work, that which interests the general public, who are not specially attracted by either the scientific or the critical part of the undertaking. To a great many our work is, I think, interesting because we are engaged in exploring the land of the Bible, and in noting the habits and customs of a people almost unchanged since the time occupied by the Biblical events.

A good illustration of the wish which is growing strong in England to clearly appreciate the Scripture narrative is to be found in the illustrated editions of the Bible lately published. The old conventionalisms of the great Italian painters, and the mediæval realisms of the Dutch masters, are alike seen to be false. One of the most imaginative of modern artists, M. Doré, has attempted to supply the want in sketches which aim at being Oriental. To any one familiar with the East, and who has studied the vivid episodes of Old Testament stories on the spot, these clever pictures are eminently unsatisfactory. They have none of the life and reality which might be thrown into really faithful pictures of the people and the scenes as we see them at the present day.

To give you even a general idea of all our discoveries would be impossible in the time I have at command. I will, therefore, take a single example—an episode in the Old Testament—on the localities of which we have thrown a remarkable amount of light, and from this you must judge of our results, with the assurance that there is no other episode which we have not studied with equal care, and in some cases with perhaps even more striking results.

The example I propose to take is that of the early history of David down to the death of Saul. The topography includes no less than twenty sites, of which three of the less important are still unknown, five were found by Robinson, and the remaining twelve we have discovered lately.

The scene in which David first comes prominently before us is that of the Valley of Elah or of the Terebinth, where was fought the famous duel with Goliath. So many of the sites connected with David's wanderings group round this valley that I may as well give a short description of its course. It rises close to Hebron, and runs as a narrow rocky ravine northward, being flanked by the ruined sites of many important towns, among which we notice Keilah—a city built on the top of a steep, terraced, treeless hill. A little beyond this point the valley widens considerably, and on its western side is another strong site with numerous caves; this, as I shall show presently, is the true site of Adullam. About a mile farther north, the broad valley sweeps round westward, and the old Roman road from Jerusalem comes in. Here, perched above

the left bank, stand the ruins of Socoh. Continuing westward we find, on the south side, a yet more strongly fortified natural site, which I believe to be Shaaraim. At length we reach the place where the valley debouches into the great plain of Philistia, and here, on a white and perpendicular cliff, stands the Philistine stronghold of Gath.

It will be clear, I hope, from this account that the valley of Elah was the great highway from the plains into the hill country. It separates the high mountainous tract held by the children of Israel from the lower hills, the country called Shephelah in the Bible. All along its course the most beautiful cornfields in Palestine, the richest soil, and evidence of the thickest former population exist. Huge terebinths still remain, showing the origin of its name, for the terebinth is not to be found in all parts of Palestine, and some of these appear to be of great antiquity. The scenery, with its foreground of cornland and its distant rocky hills, is throughout most picturesque, and there can scarce be found a part of Palestine more fertile or beautiful.

We see, therefore, the reason why this valley was so often the scene of conflict between the Jews and the Philistines, and how when unchecked these marauders were able to penetrate to such a remote village as Keilah by simply following the valley without crossing the intervening hills of the Shephelah. Holding Gath, they held the key of the valley, and the door to the best corn country in Judah.

It was in this valley, then, that Saul encamped over against the Philistine host, coming up, no doubt, in the harvest time to pillage, as their modern representatives the Bedouin still come up in spring. The exact site of the battle may also now, I think, be pointed out at the bend of the valley, just the point where the Jerusalem road, down which Saul must have come, crosses the valley. For it is stated to have been in Ephes Dammim, between Socoh and Azekah, and between the modern sites of Shuweikeh and El Azek, which are generally supposed to represent Socoh and Azekah, we have discovered Ephes Dammim. The name means Boundary of Blood, and was no doubt given because of the sanguinary conflicts there occurring. Here, then, below Socoh we still find a ruin with the name Beit Fased, or House of Bloodshed, no doubt as ancient a site as any of the rest. (Applause.)

But in further illustration of this episode; I found that much discussion had occurred as to two words used in the narrative, one meaning a broad flat valley, such as I have described, with low bushy hills and broad cornfields, the other a ravine or narrow channel. It was supposed that a gorge must exist somewhere, and this point explorers were required to clear up. On visiting the valley I could find no such gorge, but the true meaning at once became apparent on the spot. The *Emek* or broad valley has in the middle of it the *Gai*, or narrow channel. The water of the turbid winter torrents has dug a deep channel in the middle of the valley. The course is strewn with smooth white pebbles, and the steep banks are built up of them. This, therefore, it seems to me, is the channel which separated the two hosts, and here David found those

smooth pebbles of the brook which, according to the Jewish tradition, were gifted with voice and called out, "By us shalt thou overcome the giant."

This site of the battle also agrees perfectly with the subsequent events when the Philistines fled back to their own country to Shaaraim (Tell Zakeríyeh, as I have already pointed out) and Gath, the stronghold at the mouth of the valley.

I will pass over the episodes of David's life in Gibeah of Saul which are not of especial interest, merely noting that Gibeah and the well Sechu and one or two other sites, including Nob, the city of the Priests, have never been fixed before our survey in a satisfactory manner.

Flying first from Saul, and after that from Gath, David took up his abode at one of the most famous sites mentioned in Scripture—the Cave of Adullam. This site we have at length fixed and explored. It had long been unknown since the traditional site had come to be regarded as irreconcilable with the narrative. In 1872 the French explorer, M. Ganneau, discovered the existence of the name on the borders of the valley of Elah under the modified form of Aid el Mieh, and following up this discovery we verified the existence of the name and found the site to agree well with all requirements. Briefly stated, the argument in its favour is that the cave is stated in one passage of Josephus to have been close to the Royal city of Adullam, and the whereabouts of this city had long been known before the recovery of the name.

The question which I suppose would always be asked first is, What is the cave like? I fear many persons would be disappointed on visiting the spot. We imagine a great cavern such as we see in Salvator Rosa's picture of brigands, and such as really exist in Palestine. We find, instead, a row of small, low, smoky caves on a hill-side, some now used as stables for goats and cows, some inhabited by families of Arabs. But their insignificant proportions are just the best indications of the probability of the site. The great caves are far more picturesque, but they are unfitted for living in, and are never inhabited, nor probably ever were they.

They are damp, and dark, and cold, full of huge bats and creeping animals, and, as I personally know only too well, are very unpleasant places to be in. The small caves, on the other hand, are almost always in use. The light comes in in front, a fire in the centre keeps them warm, and a single lamp lights them.

A row of these small caves exists at Adullam, on the north and west of the city, separated from it by a narrow valley. On the top of the city hill are two or three other caves, also inhabited, and the whole number might accommodate 200 or 300 men, a greater number than David could at any time reckon in his band. The site is very strong and defensible, and its position in a district which is a sort of border land between the possessions of Judah and of the Philistines is most remarkable. David had two enemies to fear, Achish on the west, and Saul on the north-east, when, therefore, Adullam became unsafe, and he was obliged to

retreat farther, his natural course was south, placing Bethlehem, which must have been friendly to him, between Saul and himself.

We find that he retreated to Hareth, and that whilst there the Philistines, no longer restrained by his holding the strong position at Adullam, came up the valley of Elah, even as far as the village of Keilah, where they robbed the threshing-floors. David hearing, comes to the relief of Keilah. The question at once arises, Why should he have specially selected Keilah, whose inhabitants, as we see from their subsequent attempted treachery, were no special friends of his, when so many other towns were robbed without his offering assistance? The reason seems to be that Hareth was close to Keilah.

It is doubtful whether the wood of Hareth is a correct translation. Some versions give the city of Hareth. Whichever be correct, there is no doubt that a city of Hareth existed. No woods now exist, but it would be too much to say they never did, for pine woods existed in this very district and round Hebron as late as the times of the Crusades, though not a single tree can now be found. The site of David's hiding-place at Hareth we have, I think, been the first to discover in the strong ruined site of Kharas, which lies in the higher hills above Keilah, scarcely more than a mile from it, among inaccessible ravines, but easily reached from the valley of Elah, which forms the central theatre of his exploits up to this time. (Applause.)

Driven away yet farther south, David next appears at Ziph, a site found by Robinson in his first journey. Here we made a very curious discovery, which is, I am happy to think, to be incorporated in the new revised version of the Bible. (Applause.) His hiding-place we learn was the wood of Ziph. This wood has been sought in vain. Visiting the spot, I was unable to discover any traces of it, and yet more, it seemed to me, from the geological structure of the country, highly improbable that any such wood could have existed. For, leaving the high hill country to the north, we have here entered on an entirely different scene—one far wilder and more deserted a step occurs in the hills below Hebron and we descend to a district of rolling chalk downs, the country of the southern Hittites and the Horites, who dwelt in caves. This open country is specially fitted for such pasturage as goats and camels, and even Syrian sheep, can thrive upon. Here we find Nabal living a pastoral life, and to the present day the riches of the peasantry consist in the numerous and thriving flocks and herds. There is not a single spring in their district, and scarce a tree; the water sinks through the soft strata, and deep wells are required. How, then, could a forest be expected to exist in a country destitute of water?

The answer is, that no such forest existed, that the word Choresh is the proper name of a place. As such it is understood by the Greek version of the passage and by Josephus. The discovery, therefore, of a ruined site near Ziph with the modern name Khoreisa seems to me of great value. It is a sort of suburb of the town of Ziph, and might very

well, I think, have been thus called the Choresh of Ziph, whence, translated, Wood of Ziph.* (Applause.)

We must now follow David into a yet more desolate scene. Leaving the pastoral country where he had levied a sort of black mail on the great proprietors, as guardian of their flocks against the wandering nomadic tribes of the true desert just to the south, we find him driven to the most desolate region in Palestine, and perhaps in the world.

The pastoral country of Ziph and Carmel looks down on the east to a glaring white desert; not a tree or shrub exists in it; the hills rise into fantastic cones and knife-like ridges, separated by deep, dark gullies. There is no water, not a building or a ruin in it. The very beasts of prey seem to shun it. The desert partridge and the ibex are almost its only inhabitants, and in this episode of the narrative *both* are noticed, for David was "hunted as a partridge on the mountains," and sought by Saul among the "rocks of the wild goats."

Few scenes can be finer than that at Engedi. The steep brown crags above, the clear thermal spring surrounded by a cane brake and by huge nightshade plants (the apples of Sodom), and spiny mimosas, of which the crown of thorns was woven, with birds of the tropics, bulbuls, thrushes, and sun-birds, in the branches. Beneath lies the thick oily water of the Salt Sea, and, beyond, the towering crags upon which the great fortress of Kerak stands, like a mediæval citadel, on cliffs seemingly impregnable.

This Desert of Engedi, in which we passed two weeks, is, however, not habitable in summer. And this is probably the reason why we find David returning to the higher ground near Ziph.

We endeavoured, when surveying this part of the country, to find the cave in which David encountered Saul, on the road from Jerusalem to Engedi. But in this we cannot be said to have succeeded, not because no cave exists, but because there are so many that it is impossible to say which is the right one. The pastoral people send down their flocks from the plateau to the borders of the Engedi desert in spring. The descent to this desert is steep and sudden, the difference of level being some 2,000 feet. Along all this descent there are innumerable caves; at their mouths one sees the ragged shepherd boy sitting, and the whole flock is folded within. Such caves exist farther north, near Bethlehem, and in the Shepherds' Plain, where tradition makes the herald angels to have appeared. David himself must have been well acquainted as a boy with the district, when he led his "few poor sheep in the wilderness." It is supposed that many are old dwellings of the Horites, who were troglodytes and lived in caves, and though this fashion of living in caves extends throughout Palestine, and is constantly mentioned in the Bible, yet it is in the south country principally that the Horites lived, and that we find most caves inhabited and most mention of caves in the Old Testament.

I may remark that all these caves are of the class to which our newly discovered Cave of Adullam belongs, and not huge caverns such as

* The place was probably called Choresh Ziph to distinguish it from another Choresh (Khirbet Khoreisa) existing farther west.—C. R. C.

exist in other districts, but which are never inhabited at the present day.

We now come to the last scene of David's persecution, the last meeting with Saul before the fatal battle of Gilboa. This is the Hill of Hachilah, where David came upon Saul's camp at night and stole the cruse of water and the spear from his head. This site was unknown before we explored the district, and perhaps the incident which we have most fully illustrated is that here occurring.

David had ascended from the Dead Sea Desert and was again close to Ziph. The Hill of Hachilah is said to have overlooked the Jeshimon or Solitude, which is the desert in question. There can scarce be a doubt of its locality because there is only one hill east of Ziph overlooking the desert. The rest of the country consists of rolling downs at a lower level. On the summit of this hill we find a ruin called Yekin, and this name is only Hachil, or Hachilah slightly modified. You may object that it ends in an N and not in an L, but when I tell you that Ishmael is always called Ism'ain by the peasantry, the children of Israel the Ben Israin, and the towns of Jesreel, Zerin, and Bethel Beitin, you will see that the change of L into N is very common in well-known instances.

There was, however, a curious point in the narrative which required illustration. Saul lay "in the trench," with his men of war round him. Now had he encamped, as Josephus supposed, which seems to me very doubtful, as contrary to the customs of war among the modern Bedouin, it is not in the trench that he would have lain.

Again, a visit to the spot clears up, I think, the difficulty. The hill of Yekin is a bold promontory, standing just at the edge of the plateau. It looks over the whole desert, and the cliffs of Engedi, the waters of the Dead Sea, the heights of Moab, are in full view. Just beneath the crest of the hill is a hollow, with another knoll beyond. It is the head of a great valley, which soon becomes precipitous, running down into the desert. In this hollow is a spring and a cave.

This, I imagine, is what is meant by the trench. David is said to have crossed over to the other side, and we may imagine him standing on one or other of the hill-tops and looking down on the king and his sleeping party in the hollow.

Nothing could be more in accordance with Bedouin custom than the choice of such a place for a sleeping-place. The Bedouin understand thoroughly how to take advantage of every fold in the ground. I have been more than once surrounded by ten or twenty men without knowing of their vicinity. At the right moment when they emerge from a depression close at hand, they seem to spring as if by magic from the ground. To encamp on a hill-top or a point whence they might be easily seen would be contrary to all their ideas of prudence. Hence I have no doubt that it was in the hollow near to the only supply of water that Saul halted. The cruse of water and the spear are again little touches which seem to link the past to the present. The Syrians are a thirsty race, and at night they never sleep without a bottle with a spout at their heads. Again, the spear, a long bamboo with a knife-like blade at the end, and

the tuft of black ostrich feathers beneath, is invariably set up on end, the spike at the butt being driven into the ground when a resting-place has been chosen.

With the meeting at Hachilah David's persecution ceased. He retreats again into Philistine territory, and settles in the town of Ziklag. Here we must leave him. The town of Ziklag was quite unknown until this year. I cannot say anything much about it at present, but I discovered whilst we were at Gaza that there is a ruined place of importance called Zehleika, in the middle of the plain north of Beersheba. This is a district of some 200 square miles, which we could not enter because of the serious fighting between the Arabs going on round Zehleika and Beersheba. It is just where all the circumstances of the narrative would lead us to place Ziklag, and I hope that next year we may be able to go back and report another discovery connected with the history of David's wanderings. (Applause.)

In taking leave of this subject I would beg you to remember how much of this minute illustration of the narrative is due to that dry and uninteresting piece of work, the Ordnance Survey of Palestine.

The site of David's combat with Goliath was unknown. The Cave of Adullam had never been discovered or described. The Wood of Hareth had been sought in vain; the Choresh Ziph was not understood; and lastly, the scene of the last meeting, the Hill of Hachilah, was not identified.

Not only were these places not known, but the full force of all the little incidental details could not be brought out because the story had never been studied on the spot. The trench in the valley of Elah, for instance, the brook whence David obtained the stones. Again, the reason why David went to help the men of Keilah was inexplicable, and the trench in which Saul lay was not understood.

I have taken but one episode. It would be easy, if I had time, to show you how the history of Samson is illustrated in the same manner, and the stories of Saul and Jonathan, of Gideon, or of Joshua. Throughout the whole of the Old Testament narrative there is scarcely an episode on which we cannot claim to have thrown light in a similar manner.

Some, however, will have confined their interest to the Gospel narrative, and will be anxious to know what we have done towards illustrating its topography. (Applause.)

This, however, is just the part of the work which remains to be done. It is true that we have found Œnon, Bethabara, and Cana of Galilee, but the shores of the Sea of Galilee we have not yet visited.

Many of you will have heard of the interruption of our work, and the attack on my party in Upper Galilee. The whole country from Beersheba to Nazareth, more than four-fifths of our work, we had completed, without any serious difficulties. We had passed through the Hebron hills, the stronghold of fanaticism, with only one row, which was quickly settled. We had at last reached the high hills of Upper Galilee, and were looking forward to the speedy and successful termination of our labours. The insolence and fanaticism of the Mohametans in the

district surpasses, however, anything of which we have had experience before. My servants were insulted and stoned without any provocation on their part, and I myself was assaulted before I had spoken a word. The serious fray which ensued seemed at the time inevitably fatal to us; had we not succeeded in communicating with the Turkish Governor, who sent soldiers to our assistance, we should probably have been killed. Every member of the party was wounded, and we all suffered subsequently with bad fever. The legal proceedings, the gradual spread of cholera, our own condition, and the lateness of the season, made it advisable to suspend operations for the winter.

We hope, however, to take the field in spring, and should we be uninterrupted by new misfortunes, we may count on finishing all our work from Dan to Beersheba by next summer.

Among our future studies there is much which will, I think, surpass in interest what we have done before. The site of Capernaum is not yet fixed, and that of Bethsaida is unknown. Chorazin alone has been discovered. We have still hopes of doing something towards elucidating these interesting questions.

Again, in Galilee we have objects of interest which exist in no other part of Palestine. I mean the synagogues which are to be found in all parts. Some of these were first discovered by Major Wilson whilst working for the Fund. Their date was not known, but I have succeeded lately in finding the names of the builders, and the time at which they lived. It proves that some are earlier than the time of our Lord, and may be the very synagogues in which He taught. I have also obtained indications of the whereabouts of two synagogues which have never been seen by any European, and I believe others besides are yet to be found. These discoveries we hope to be able to follow out early next year. The question of the measurements of the synagogues is of great importance. We have here buildings of undoubted Jewish origin, some previous to the building of the Temple, others dating immediately after it. From their measurements we may hope to discover the length of the cubit, which is quite doubtful at present. I have very carefully measured the only synagogue we have yet visited, and I find that if we take the cubit at sixteen inches, the synagogue is exactly thirty cubits by forty, and its pillars ten cubits high. I find that the measurements taken by others of the other synagogues give the same results, and to any one wishing to restore the Temple at Jerusalem this investigation, with others we have made, is of the greatest importance. (Applause.)

My only object to-night has been to endeavour to create a greater interest in our work than is generally felt, to show what our real aim and object is, and that it has an interest not only for those who look to its scientific or its critical aspect, but for the English public in general. That we throw a light on the Bible which is not only new, but which is more practical and more conclusive as to the character of the sacred record than any amount of criticism from those who have not studied Palestine and its inhabitants on the spot.

If I have at all succeeded I may perhaps venture to hope that you will

follow our future proceedings with interest, and wish us a successful termination to our labours. (Applause.)

On the motion of the Rev. Canon CRANE, seconded by the Rev. W. F. BIRCH, the thanks of the meeting were accorded to Lieutenant Conder for his address; and a similar compliment having been paid to the Dean for presiding, the meeting separated.

THE AMERICAN EXPEDITION.

THE following letters from the Rev. Selah Merrill are reprinted from the *Athenæum* by the kind permission of the proprietors. It will be remembered that Captain Warren has anticipated much of their work at Thellthatha, Rukleh, and other places in the Lebanon.

November 5th, 1875.

The friends of Palestine Exploration in England may be interested in some account of our reconnoissance survey of the Hauran, which we have just completed. It will be impossible, however, in a single letter, to give more than an outline of our operations. We had with us twenty-three baggage animals and nine horses. Then we had eight muleteers, six servants, including two cooks and a table boy, and two assistants and interpreters from the college in Beirut. Besides the four gentlemen who comprised the exploring party proper, there were with us three others, two gentlemen from Beirut, one an excellent botanist, and the other an excellent marksman, and our photographer. No person unacquainted with the facts can realise the difficulties to be overcome in order to secure good photographs in the Syrian deserts, especially in the summer. All green things are burned up, the air is full of fine dust, the sun is intensely hot, and the sky, of course, is affected accordingly. Both instrument and chemicals are often injured or ruined. Ordinary rules and laws cannot be followed; and the skill and patience of the artist are constantly taxed to their utmost even to produce any work at all. Then the difficulty of obtaining pure water is another serious drawback. We often carried water eight and ten and even sixteen miles for our photographer to use. But notwithstanding the obstacles to be overcome, we have been remarkably successful. We have brought away as trophies from the desert considerably over one hundred photographs of temples, churches, theatres, towers, castles, and other ruins, which, for the most part, have never before been visited by a photographer. Our small plates are nine and a half by twelve inches, and our larger ones are twelve by sixteen inches. The collection, we hope, will prove to be one of great interest and value.

We left Abeih, whither hundreds from Beirut had fled to escape the cholera, on the 2nd of September, and passing over some of the Lebanon mountains, camped at Kefr Nebrakh. The next day we passed over the last Lebanon range, and down into the valley of the Litany or Leontes, which we crossed, and camped at Jub Jenin. That day our photographer

went by another route, and took photographs of a fine grove of cedars which had never been photographed. We went next over a low foot-range of Anti-Lebanon, and camped at Rasheiya. The same day I went with the photographer to Thellthatha, or Nebi Safa, as it is sometimes called, a place to the south, in the same range just mentioned, and photographed one of the famous Hermon temples which still exists there. We went north the same night, and joined our camp at Rasheiya. Leaving our camp here, we went in an easterly and north-easterly direction to Rukleh, where there are a number of inscriptions and the remains of two temples, one of which possesses some features of unusual interest. We took several photographs here, and also squeezes of the inscriptions, and returned to our camp in Rasheiya. The next day we went to the top of Jebel esh Sheikh, and while the engineers took bearings and made observations, I, with the help of our guide and a fine glass, made notes of the places and points of interest that can be seen from this wonderful observatory of nature. What appear from the distance to be mere patches of snow, we found, on reaching the summit, were great fields and drifts of it. The thermometer showed 36 degrees in the snow, and 72 in the atmosphere. This was on the 7th of September. The water which flowed in little streams from these snow banks was cold and refreshing. That night we went down the side of Hermon to Shiba, a place in the mountains a little to the east and south of Hashbeiya, which our camp had reached by the direct route. Here we found most excellent water gushing in full-grown streams from the foot of the mountain. From here we went over some of the lower or southern ranges of Hermon, past Medjel esh Shems, to Banias, where we camped and spent several days. We took a number of photographs in this region, including the castle Subeibeh, the famous oak grove of Hazor, the fountain of the Jordan at Banias, the other fountain at Tell el Kadi, and two or three besides. We then went to Lake Phiala, and made a thorough geological examination of that most interesting volcanic region, including Tell el Achmar, an extinct crater, two or three miles to the south of the lake, and took a panoramic view of the lake itself, and then went on to Medjel esh Shems, where we camped.

We then pushed east into the desert, and what some have really found to be the land of danger, but from which we escaped unharmed. We crossed Nukr Sasa, which geologically and in other respects is a very interesting section, and camped at Sasa on a delightfully fresh and green grass-plat between two branches of the Jennani. The small tell on which Sasa stands is an extinct crater. From here we pushed east to Musmeh, the Phaeno of the Romans, situated in the north end of the Leja. Here is a beautiful temple, one of the best preserved in the Hauran, which we photographed; we also photographed a section of the interior, in order to show the architecture. The Leja I shall not attempt in this outline to describe; but it seems to me that more travellers, especially if they are scientific men, ought to visit this largest and most wonderful lava bed in the world. Then the number of ruined towns

which are found in the Leja, the Trachonitis of the New Testament and the Argob of the Old, is perfectly surprising. We went down the western border of the Leja and camped at Zara (or Zora, or Edra), a place of great antiquity, and important now for its ruins and inscriptions. We passed on then in a south-easterly direction through Ed Dur and several other ruined towns, and camped at Kirateh (or Kurrasseh), a place entirely uninhabited, but where we found a fountain of excellent water, full of fish. There is another Kirateh a little to the north of Zara: the two must not be confounded. I found some exceedingly curious and interesting ruins, formed of very large unhewn stones, on the tops of some of the hills about this place, of which I shall give an account with drawings in my Report. From here we went on to Kunawat, the Kenath of the Bible, and camped and took a number of photograps there, and of places in the vicinity, and also copied many inscriptions. I always had with me Waddington's invaluable work. My practice was to verify his copy, and to copy and take squeezes only of such as he had not seen. At Suleim, a little to the north-west of Kunawat, is one of the most beautiful temples in the East. We photographed this, and also two temples at Atil. Kunawat is remarkable for its situation as the centre of a populous and wealthy district. Six or eight cities or towns were clustered about it within a distance of two hours' walk, most of which were within sight from its temple-roofs and towers. Among them Sia, twenty-five minutes to the east and south, was a beautiful place, and intimately connected, as its inscriptions (both Greek and Aramaic) show, with the history of Herod the Great. Our next camping-place was at Suweideh, where we also took photographs. We then went on by way of 'Are to Salchad, and photographed the splendid castle there. This castle forms a fine landmark, seen for many miles from the north, west, and south. As we found no good water here, we turned back on the the route we had come about one hour, to Aiyin, an uninhabited place, where there was a fine fountain and some very peculiar ruins. From there we went on south-west through Kerioth to Bozrah (or Bostra), and camped and spent several days, including Sunday, September 26th. Here the churches, theatre, columns, castle, old bevelled stones, streets, gates, triumphal arches, and reservoirs, not to speak of the inscriptions, are all wonderful, and I will undertake to describe them in due time. Here also we enlarged and enriched our collection of photographs.

Leaving our camp here we went sixteen miles to the south-west into the genuine desert, to visit the ruins of Um el Jemal, which some suppose to be the Beth Gamul of the Bible. Burckhardt, Buckingham, Porter, Wetzstein, and other distinguished travellers have looked out from the castle at Salchad, or from that at Bozrah,* on to this dark mass of ruins with longing eyes; but although two or more of these made the

* I did not myself see the ruins of Um el Jemal from the castle at Bozrah, and make this statement on the testimony of others. But there are so many piles of ruins on the plain, that one might easily be mistaken and think he had seen Um el Jemal when he had not.

attempt, they did not succeed in reaching them. Mr. Cyril Graham and Mr. Waddington were the only Europeans who had visited the place previous to ourselves. The ruins of this *unwalled* town cannot here be described, but I may say that they are very instructive even to those who are tolerably familiar with Hauran and Syrian ruins as they exist in other places. Two or three photographs were taken here. We went next from Bozrah north-west in the direction of Der'at (Edrei or Adra'a) to Jisre esh Shirk, and camped; and then on to Der'at itself, and turned south and camped at Remtheh, an important place, on the pilgrim road from Damascus to Mecca. Through all this region we were obliged to guard our camp at night ourselves. We found we could not trust our men for this, because they would invariably go to sleep, with the most perfect indifference to danger imaginable. It was while on guard at Remtheh that one of our party, Mr. T., took a severe cold, which brought on a fever and nearly cost him his life. We found here only miserable water. The people had good water in their cisterns, but they would neither give it nor sell it to us; and had it not been for some Turkish soldiers there, who gave us some from the garrison supplies when they learned our need, we might have fared worse than we did. The next day we had a long, tedious journey to Jerash, where we arrived on the 1st of October. That day the thermometer was 87 degrees in the shade at noon, and we were entirely without water, either for men or animals, until near night, when we were almost within sight of Jerash. We came then upon a spring of cool, fresh water, which was worth more to us at that moment than a gold mine would have been. As for our animals, they were perfectly wild and unmanageable until they had quenched their thirst.

We spent three or four days at Jerash, and brought away over forty inscriptions and some beautiful photographs. In regard to the heat, I may add that at Jerash, as well as while on our way there, and also at Bozrah, and afterwards at Es Salt, we had many days when the thermometer showed 85, 87, and even 90 degrees in the shade. Through Jerash, from one end of the city to the other, there flows a stream of cool, fresh, living water. Here is one of the finest "water-powers" in the East. From here our sick friend was taken to Es Salt, our next camping-place, and from there, as soon as he could be moved, to Jerusalem in a palanquin, *i.e.*, a great box fastened on to long poles, and carried between two mules, one before and one behind it. At Jerusalem he was placed in the Mediterranean Hotel, under the care of Dr. Chaplin. We took photographs of Es Salt, supposed to be the Ramoth Gilead of the Bible, and several at Amman, the Rabbath Ammon of the Bible, which was our next camping-place after leaving Es Salt. From there we went to Heshbon, and visited Nebo, the peak called "Siagah," and supposed by some to be the Pisgah of Moses, Main, or the ancient Baal Meon, and several other places. We took photographs at Heshbon, and our photographer went several miles east of Heshbon, to a place called Musshattah (some distance east of Ziza, but not down on the ordinary maps), and photographed a very beautiful temple which still

exists there.* From Heshbon we went north to Arak el Emir, and photographed the ruins of the wonderful castle of Hyrcanus, and also the face of the cliff, in which the chambers, reservoirs, and stables which Josephus describes, were excavated. These "stables," in which there are accommodations for one hundred horses in a single room dug out of the solid rock, appear something like a long livery stable, when one stands at the door and looks into it, except in this case there are no partitions for stalls; but the mangers are quite perfect, and so are the rings cut in the rock by the side of each manger, where the horses were tied. From here we crossed the Jordan at Jericho, and went by way of Jerusalem and Nablous to Beirut.

It has been impossible in this outline to give any special details of our work, yet we hope it will be found that our journey has been a very successful one. The whole country has been mapped out for future operations; the bearings taken, the observations, and the various records and notes kept by the engineers, are important; and the inscriptions copied, together with the measurements taken of ancient churches, temples, theatres, and other ruins, we hope will prove interesting and valuable. The geological, botanical, geographical, and archæological features of this east-Jordan land are of the highest interest. The fertility of this region, which we commonly call a "desert," cannot be exaggerated. Its populousness and prosperity in ancient times will always remain one of the wonders of history: and an industrious and enterprising people, under a good government, could again make those broad fields, now so desolate, as productive as Egypt in her palmiest days.

UM EL JEMAL—THE BETH GAMUL OF JEREMIAH?

It has been my good fortune recently to visit the ruins of this little-known but very interesting city. Burckhardt made three attempts from as many different points to reach this place, all of which were unsuccessful. Buckingham still later was also unable to reach it. And even so recent a traveller as Wetzstein was obliged to turn back without seeing it, after he had made every preparation and had proceeded half an hour or more from Bozrah on his way thither. Dr. Porter says, "the only European who ever succeeded in reaching it is Cyril C. Graham." But the place has been visited, probably since the statement just quoted was written, by Mr. Waddington, who, however, has not described it with any detail. Besides the two gentlemen just named, I am not aware that the place has been visited by any other Europeans previous to the arrival there of our own party. Out of the path of travellers, and even of adventurous explorers, it is not strange that books on Palestine and Bible dictionaries have very little to say about it. In Jer. xlviii. 21—25, where it is said that "judgment is come upon the plain country," a list of eleven cities is given, and among them are mentioned "Beth Gamul, Beth Meon, Kerioth, and Bozrah." "Judgment is come," it is said, "upon all the cities of the land of Moab, far or near." The phrase

* See Dr. Tristram's "Land of Moab."

"far or near" may prove a significant hint towards determining the question whether or not this site corresponds with the Beth Gamul of Jeremiah. The sites and ruins of Kerioth and Bozrah, which places I have also recently visited, are supposed, by some, to be well known; and it is argued, with good reason, that Beth Gamul must be in the same region. And Um el Jemal, or "Mother of the Camel," may, it is thought, represent the Hebrew Beth Gamul, or "House of the Camel."

From the castle at Salchad, and some say from that at Bozrah also, one can see a pile of ruins far away to the south-west, a dark mass resting upon the treeless plain. They lie about sixteen miles from Bozrah. They are at present uninhabited, there being no water there that we could find, although there is a large reservoir in the centre of the town, and I counted as many as four smaller ones in different parts of the city. There is evidence that the place contains also large cisterns, one such at least I saw, in which may be water. These it would be interesting to examine. The roof of the one that I looked into was supported by five Roman arches.

We left our camp on Monday morning, Sept. 27, at five o'clock, and proceeded to the castle in Bozrah; for the officer in command, Ibrahim Effendi, proposed, as he had never visited the place, and was very much interested in antiquities, to accompany us with some soldiers. Fortunately the morning, and the whole day, as it proved, were quite cool, so that our ten hours and forty minutes in the saddle were less tedious than they might otherwise have been. We were in all twenty men, well mounted, and well armed. Besides the animals we rode, we had three extra ones for photographic apparatus, water, and other baggage. About two miles outside of Bozrah we came upon a large encampment of Bedouin of over one hundred long black tents; and, judging by the deafening howl, there were three or four dogs to every tent. There were several hundred camels scattered about in groups; and there was evidently excitement of some kind, for men were shouting and running in all directions. Some of them ran up to our soldiers, and told of a heavy robbery that had been committed during the night, and of the great loss they had suffered in cattle and camels. Our soldiers gave chase in the direction indicated by these men; and it was a fine sight to see them, with such of the Bedouin as were mounted, dashing over the plain in their efforts to discover the robbers. These, however, had done their work too near morning, or else had taken more than they could manage, and had fled, leaving the camels, or most of them, to return at leisure to their masters. I counted in a single string one hundred and fifty camels, thus making their way back. During the next hour or two we saw as many as half a dozen groups of camels, at different places on the plain, that had passed through the experience of being stolen the night previous. Three miles south of Bozrah we struck the perpetual desert, the region of desolation. Not that the soil is barren, but in all this wide and naturally fertile district no man dare plough, or plant, or build. Here is land as level as any prairie, and as rich as any in the world, with stones enough upon it to serve for building purposes, lying

idle and useless. One can easily picture it cut up into hundreds of fine farms, and covered with dwellings and orchards and gardens, and all the marks of civilised and skilful husbandry. Yet this desert shows signs of former cultivation, for the stones in many parts have at some time been gathered into long rows, evidently to serve as boundaries for fields. The plain is covered with a small shrub which resembles the sage bush. Then the crocus appeared in many places; and the contrast between the barren burnt surface of the plain and these beautiful flowers was very striking. On the way we passed several ruins, the names of which we could not learn; and the same was true of our return, as we came most of the way by a different route. There are scores of these ruined towns scattered about this plain awaiting the careful explorer. Far in the north-east the fortress, Al Salchad, loomed up a magnificent object on the horizon, commanding a view of all this wide plain to the north, east, south, and west. I noticed that the common barn-swallows were very abundant; and we also saw during the day ten or more gazelles, to some of which our men gave chase, but without success.

We reached Um el Jemal after a ride of about five hours. The ruins do not abound in columns and temples like those of Kunawat or Jerash, still they are imposing, and make a peculiar impression upon one because they stand alone in the desert. They are remarkable, in the first place, from the fact that they present only two prominent styles of architecture, namely, Roman and Christian, and not half a dozen, as is so often the case in other places. They are remarkable again because they afford a good example of an *unwalled* town. Indeed, in this respect they are very instructive. The dwellings and buildings were not huddled together. Then there has been no building and rebuilding on the tops of former buildings, according to later oriental style. The open spaces about the houses were large, and the streets were broad. At least two avenues ran through the city from north to south, one of which was one hundred feet wide, and the other nearly one hundred and fifty feet. Nothing appears crowded. Everywhere there is a sense of roominess. It must have been a city noted for broad streets, spacious avenues, large courts, fine gardens, promenades, and the like. Consequently it would be a cool city, and no doubt delightful as a place of residence. Then, again, the houses, which were built of stone, are not only the finest, but the best preserved of any that I have seen in the Hauran, or in all the country east of the Jordan. They were built on a generous scale. Some of them were three and even four stories high. I noticed that eleven and twelve feet was a common height for the ceiling on the first floor, and ten feet on the second, and in two or more cases the height of the ceiling on the third floor was also ten feet. The doors of the rooms were, as a rule, seven and a half and eight feet high in the second story as well as the first. The rooms were not small but spacious, that is, spacious for private houses. A number of those that I measured were ten feet by twenty-five, or twelve feet by twenty-four. There were, of course, both larger and smaller rooms than these. A common style of building seems to have been a group of houses with a large open space

around the outside, and a large open court on the inside. These courts were fifty feet by seventy-five, and sometimes much larger. Stone stairs led up on the outside of the houses facing the court to the second and third stories. Many of these are in as good condition as if they had been built but one year ago. There are no traces of the Saracens here. Nor, on the other hand, are there any decided marks of great antiquity. In the large reservoir before mentioned there are some bevelled stones. It is the fullest bevel. Very many of the stones of which the houses were built were simply split, and not faced at all; yet it should be observed that the splitting was remarkably regular. It was evidently at one time, and, I should judge, for a long time, a prominent Christian city. I found remains of what I consider to have been three Christian churches. Further examination might develop more. One of these, at least, had had a portico, and columns were lying about the front of it. In no other city east of the Jordan that I have visited do so many crosses appear on the lintels of the doors of private houses as here. Then, again, the inscriptions are by no means the least important fact connected with these ruins. I can, however, only allude to this fact at present. Mr. Waddington, whom I have already mentioned, has published several Greek and Latin inscriptions which were found here, and during my short stay I found seven inscriptions which he has not given. Aramaic inscriptions also exist here. Without deciding whether or not this is the Beth Gamul of the Bible, it is certainly a rich field for research.

I am sorry to state that the Arabs are every year carrying off the stones of this city to other places. As many as six men were at work while we were there, throwing down the walls and getting the long roof-stones, which were to be carried away on camels. Just before we reached the place we met thirty or forty camels that had started with a load of stone taken from these ruins. It is easy to see how important inscriptions may be carted off, and thus valuable historical material for ever lost. It was on account of this plundering which I saw going on that I regretted so deeply I could not remain and complete a thorough archæological examination of the ruins at once. We took two photographs of the city, and made some measurements, the details of which would probably not be of general interest. In regard to this place being identical with the Beth Gamul of Jeremiah, while I do not care to discuss the question here, I may say in a word that I see no special objection to its having been the same. The objection offered by some scholars that it is too far north, can, I think, easily be removed. The place appears to have been deserted for centuries. I should judge that the desertion was sudden and complete. There are no traces of there having been any lingering, deteriorating remnant or people, nor of any wretched subsequent inhabitants to mutilate it, as is usually the case in these large ruined cities. I noticed an interesting fact with regard to the pieces of pottery with which the surface of the ground here, as in all these ruined towns, is covered. In most cases one sees only the red pottery, but in Um el Jemal the black was the prevailing kind, and the

red decidedly the exception. There are but few places in Syria where the black pottery is made. In the first century, according to the Talmud, the black kind was considered superior to the red, and brought a much higher price in the markets; and what is also interesting in this connexion, a certain village in Galilee had a monopoly of its manufacture.

On our way home, as we had no guide and paths do not exist, we took the wrong direction, and when we had ridden five hours we did not find our Bozrah. We ascended a slight elevation, which commanded a view of a wide region. We had a choice of seven ruined cities which were in sight from where we stood; but as night was rapidly approaching, even our Effendi could not tell which Bozrah was. We made a guess, which proved to be a lucky one, and after one hour and a half hard riding in the dark we reached our camp in safety. SELAH MERRILL.

MANUSCRIPTS OF THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES.

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THE Codex of the Hebrew Scriptures which Rabbi Aaron Ben Asher revised has recently been discovered at Aleppo, and Dr. Ginsburg, the well-known Orientalist, intends to start, in a week or two, for Syria on purpose to collate it. This celebrated MS. was originally preserved at Jerusalem; but probably when Saladin took the Holy City and put an end to the Latin Kingdom, it was removed to Egypt, where Maimonides (A.D. 1135-1204) saw it. He adopted it as his model, "because," he remarks, "I saw that there is a great confusion in all the codices which I have consulted with regard to these matters; and even the Massorites, who wrote and compiled works to show which sections are to begin new paragraphs and which not, are divided upon these matters, according to the authorities they leaned upon. I found myself necessitated to write, thus, all the sections of the Law, both those which begin new paragraphs and those which do not, as well as the forms of the accents, so that all copies might be made according to it. Now the Codex which is followed in these matters is the one well known in Egypt which contains the four-and-twenty Sacred Books, which was in Jerusalem for many years, that all the codices might be corrected after it, and *whose text all adopted, because Ben Asher corrected it and laboured over it many years, and revised it many times. It is this Codex I followed in the copy of the Law I wrote.*"

At present this important MS. is preserved in a cave under a synagogue at Aleppo, "at the entrance of which stands a chest in which are deposited crowns of the Law" (*i.e.*, Bibles written with points and accents), "and they are all adorned with flowers and blossoms in various colours drawn like chains around." At the end of the MS. is written, "This complete Bible, consisting of 24 Books, was written by R. Solomon, who was a skilful scribe, May the Spirit of God give him rest: and was punctuated and furnished with the Massora in the most proper way by the great teacher, wise, sagacious, Master of the Scribes, father of the wise, chief of the teachers, skilful in his works, prudent in his advice,

and altogether unique in his generation, R. Aaron Ben Asher, may his soul be bound up in the bundle of life with the Prophets, the just and the holy ones—and was presented as a holy gift by the great prince glorious and mighty, Master and Rabbi of Israel, the beauty of all Israel, wise, sagacious, holy and liberal. May the Lord lift up his banner, make his crown flourish and extol his glory," &c. The writer goes on to say that the MS. is to remain "at Jerusalem, in the possession of the two great patriarchs whose glorious, holy, and majestic names are Joshiahu and Zechez Riahu;" and to be shown to the people on the three festivals of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles. "Any learned Rabbi of the children of Israel" who shall wish to consult the MS. may do so; but he must put it back in its place, and no unbeliever may touch it.

We have said enough to show the immense antiquity and authority of this MS., to which attention was first drawn by Iben Safir, and the learned world will no doubt look forward with some curiosity for the publication of Dr. Ginsburg's collation.

Iben Safir has also called attention to another important MS. of the Earlier and Later Prophets, imperfect at the beginning and end, which is deposited in the Karaite Synagogue at Cairo. It is the oldest of the MSS. the Karaites possess. At Cairo the ancient MSS. are usually preserved with peculiar care, being placed in a shrine near the ark containing the law, and a lamp is kept continually burning before it. It is in the square Spanish character, large letters, with points and accents and the Massora according to all its rules. At the end of the minor prophets is written, in the handwriting of its scribe, and in the same ink: "I, Moses Ben Asher, wrote this cycle of Scriptures with all correctness, as the good hand of God was upon me, in the province of Miziah, in the renowned city of Tiberias . . . . Amen. Finished at the end of 827 years after the destruction of the second Temple. May the Creator of our souls return to it in mercy, rebuild it with stones of carbuncles, sapphires, and agates, so that it may be a perfect and durable edifice which shall not be forsaken, nor destroyed, nor pulled down for ever and ever. May this be done speedily in our own day, and that of all Israel. Amen." On the same page is added: "Whosoever alters anything in this cycle or writing, or obliterates any letter, or tears any page of it, unless he thoroughly understands that we committed some error, whether in writing or punctuation, or Massora . . . let him have no forgiveness nor atonement, and let him not see the beauty of the Lord, nor the good which is hid for those who fear God, but let him be as an unclean woman, and a leper shut up, that his limbs may be crushed, his strength broken, his flesh consumed, and his bones rotten till he disappear. Amen."

In a note on the following page, in the same handwriting as the above, we are told that "this book is now in the possession of Jabez Ben Salomon the Babylonian."

Dr. Ginsburg intends to collate this MS. also before his return to England.